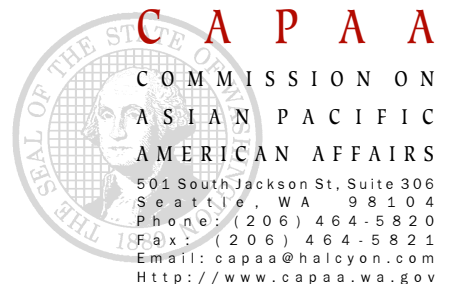


# ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN HERITAGE RESOURCE GUIDE For Washington State K-12 Schools



The State of Washington



Improving the lives of Asian Pacific Americans

# **ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN HERITAGE RESOURCE GUIDE For Washington State K-12 Schools**

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May 2001

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## INTRODUCTION

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Welcome to the *Asian Pacific American Heritage Resource Guide*—provided for your convenience by the Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs (CAPAA). This *Resource Guide* is intended to help you in the curriculum development and integration of Asian Pacific American (APA) history in your teaching strategies.

**What This Guide Offers.** Section 1 to 3, “Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington: An Overview,” “Asian Americans: Concepts, Strategies, and Materials,” and “A History Bursting With Telling: Asian Americans in Washington State,” respectively, offer ways of understanding broad themes around migration, labor, community development, political empowerment, identity, and citizenship and general concepts around cultural similarities and differences, discrimination, and the quest for equal treatment as they were and are experienced by APAs. Section 2 and 3 also offers developed curriculum ideas; books for teachers and students of primary, middle/upper, and high school levels; and recommend select videos and resources for the classroom. Latter sections give snapshots of APA history and APA pioneers, ideas on how to celebrate APA heritage month, which Washington State officially recognizes every May, and general resource contacts.

**Meets Washington State Learning Goals.** Section 1-5 are easily integrated to meet Washington State's Essential Academic Learning Requirements (EALRs) around Goals 1, 2, and 3. (See table below for examples of EALRs goals and objectives that would readily apply.) These standards, seen in a multicultural reality, call for a teaching and learning environment that prepare students to be academically, culturally and socially literate. The integration of APA history into the delivery of existing and new curricula will engage the natural intellectual curiosity of students and help prepare them to take on the challenges and opportunities of a complex and diverse state and nation. It will also help nurture a citizenry that will pursue a healthy and democratic society.

### Washington State Learning Goals 1, 2, and 3 and Examples of Essential Academic Learning Requirements (EALRs)

**GOAL 1**—Read with comprehension, write with skill, and communicate effectively and responsibly in a variety of ways

*Reading EALR #2—The student understands the meaning of what is read.*

- 2.1 comprehend important ideas and details
- 2.2 expand comprehension by analyzing, interpreting, and synthesizing information and ideas
- 2.3 think critically and analyze author's use of language, style, purpose, and perspective

*Writing EALR #2—The student writes in a variety of forms for different audiences and purposes*

- 2.1 write for different audiences
- 2.2 write for different purposes (telling stories, presenting analytical responses, persuading, explaining concepts, etc.)
- 2.3 write in a variety of forms (narratives, journals, poems, essays, stories, research reports, etc.)

*Communication EALR #3—The student uses communication strategies and skills to work effectively with others*

- 3.1 use language to interact effectively and responsibly with others
- 3.2 work cooperatively as a member of a group
- 3.3 seek agreement and solutions through discussions

**GOAL 2**—Know and apply the core concepts and principles of mathematics, social, physical, and life sciences; civics and history; geography; arts; and health and fitness

*Social Studies/History EALRS #1—The student examines and understands major ideas, eras, themes, developments, turning points, chronology, and cause-and effect relations in U.S., world, and Washington State history*

- 1.1 understand historical time, chronology, and causation
- 1.2 analyze the historical development of events, people, places, and patterns of life in U.S., world, and Washington State history
- 1.3 examine the influence of culture on U.S., work, and Washington State history

**GOAL 3**—Think analytically, logically, and creatively, and to integrate experience and knowledge to form reasoned judgments and solve problems.

*EALRs for Goal 3 are currently being developed.*

## Asian Pacific American History—An American History

Fundamentally, APA history is part of American history. It is history that speaks of America's struggle and progress within an increasingly diverse cultural setting. Its study has the potential of helping students develop heightened multi-cultural understanding and cross-cultural communication skills, for example. Its study is also helpful in the necessary critical thinking and analysis of many of America's major themes, immigration and migration, labor, community development, and citizenship. Unfortunately, APA history is largely missing in our K-12 instruction. This exclusion perpetuates a scholarship that tends to define what it means to be American too narrowly.

Most students first learn of APA history through courses in American ethnic studies (if offered at all) in an institution of higher learning (if they get there). Such a limited exposure robs students of a true accounting of history and limits their ability to be effective members of a complex and diverse setting.

Fundamentally, American history, to be truly understood, must account for all our nation's diverse experiences. Currently, it does not. Also, in order to prepare students to become effective citizens, it is only common sense to begin this study in K-12, where students of all backgrounds begin a common public and social education. Your role as educator is critical in moving our schools towards a truly culturally representative and equitable approach to learning.

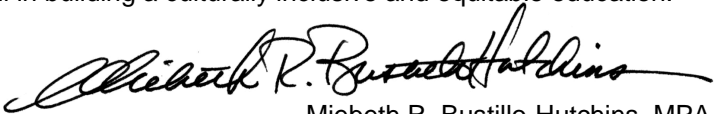
## APA Community—A Diverse Community that Suffers From the Model Minority Myth

To begin, it is important to understand that the APA community is itself very diverse with over 50 ethnicities of Asian and Pacific ancestry; with their own unique migration patterns, histories, languages, customs and cultures. Although, they are often talked about as one community, there are often more differences than there are similarities among them. Also, because of perceived economic and educational achievements, APAs often suffer from the model minority myth. Please see Section 2 for a good discussion of why this is problematic for APAs.

### Examples of APA Ethnicities

<u>Asian</u>	Iwo Jimayan	Sumatran	Micronesian
Asian Indian	Japanese	Taiwanese	Northern Mariana
Bangladesh	Javanese	Thai	Islander
Bhutanese	Korean	Tibetan	PaluanPapua
Burmese	Laotian	Urdu	New Guinean
Borneo	Malayan	Vietnamese	Polynesian
Cambodian/ Kampuchea	Maldivian	<u>Pacific Islander</u>	Ponapean (Pohnpeian)
Celebesian	Mien	Carolinia	Samoan
Ceram	Mongolian	Fijian	Solomon Islander
Chinese	Myanmar	Guamanian	Tahitian
Filipino	Nepali	Hawaiian	Tarawa Islander
Hmong	Pakistani	Kosraean	Tongan
Ikinawan	Sikkim	Melanesian	Tukese/(Chuukese)
Indochinese	Singaporean		Yapese
Indonesian	Sri Lankan		

The CAPAA hopes that you find this *Resource Guide* useful in building a culturally inclusive and equitable education.



Miebeth R. Bustillo-Hutchins, MPA  
Executive Director

### CAPAA Overview

The CAPAA was established by the state legislature in 1974 to improve the well-being of Asian Pacific Americans (APAs) by insuring their access to participation in the fields of government, business, education, and other areas. It has a board made up of 12-governor appointed members that represent the diverse APA communities of Washington State.

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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The *Asian Pacific American Heritage Resource Guide* and other Asian Pacific American Heritage Month education materials are made possible by the generous sponsorships and support of corporate, non-profit, and public organizations. The CAPAA is especially thankful for their community stewardship and ongoing commitment to help improve the lives of Asian Pacific Americans and other diverse communities.

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Wing Luke Asian Museum

### Special Thanks

The CAPAA is also especially thankful to the following educators, corporate citizens, community leaders, CAPAA staff, interns, and volunteers for helping make the celebration of APA Heritage Month of May 2001 possible.

### **University of Washington Department of American Ethnic Studies**

Steve Sumida, PhD, *chair*  
Rick Bonus, PhD  
Connie So, PhD  
Gail Nomura, PhD

### **Corporate, Community and Public Organizations**

Michael Chu, Buty Building, Inc., *owner*  
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Julie Hatta, National Asian American Telecommunications Association, *distribution director*  
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Frieda Takamura, Washington Education Association, *human relations coordinator*

Joan Yoshitomi, OSPI Resource Center, *director*  
Herman Vargas, Lowe's, *fairness programs manager*  
Heidi Williams, OSPI Resource Center, *support staff*  
The Wing Luke Asian Museum

### **CAPAA Staff, Interns, and Volunteers**

Ryan Minato, *research analyst*  
Vilaska Nguyen, *legislative liaison/community outreach coordinator*  
Kongkham Panyathong, *intern*  
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Sandra Salazar, *intern*  
Jon'Dell Delacruz, *intern*  
Kris Ladines, *intern*  
Ronald Antonio, *intern*  
Ly Pham, *intern*  
Franklin High School, Web Hutchins' students  
...and numerous other volunteers

Thank you so much for all that you do to help the Asian Pacific American community and all our communities. Your services are exemplary and noteworthy.

The State of Washington  
Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs

## **SECTION 1—ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICANS IN WASHINGTON: AN OVERVIEW**

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The following section is extracted from: Dubrow, Nomura, et al. (1993). *The Historic Context for the Protection of Asian/Pacific American Resources in Washington State*. Olympia: Department of Community Development Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation Boston. It appears here with permission from the author.

### About the Author and Her Work

The following was written by Gail Nomura of the American Culture Program at the University of Michigan and is adapted from her essay that appeared in *Peoples of Washington. Perspectives on Cultural Diversity*. Gail Nomura reviewed the literature on the patterns of settlement, economic contributions, the history of exclusionary and restrictive legislation, and the history of resistance and community development for Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State. She made a special effort to link these aspects of history to the places where they occurred and to begin to identify the types of properties that might be associated with their heritage. Although the original scope of work was limited to World War II, she has brought the history up to the present day so that preservation planners can begin to plan for the protection of properties that soon will be considered historically significant.

To produce this comprehensive overview, Gail Nomura has drawn on the growing scholarly literature on Asian/Pacific American communities, key works produced by community historians, as well as her knowledge of primary sources. The reader should be aware, however, that although there have been many works by community organizations and commemorative booklets, as well as growing scholarly literature on Asian/Pacific Americans, portions of their history remain undocumented and there is not yet a well developed body of scholarly literature that relates this history to the built environment. For that reason, the authors of this study met with community members who helped to fill gaps in the documentary sources.

Gail Nomura is currently an Assistant Professor at the University of Washington Department of American Ethnic Studies.

## ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS IN WASHINGTON: AN OVERVIEW

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By Gail Nomura, PhD

Asian/Pacific Americans are a diverse group composed of people of many ethnicities, languages, religions, and cultures who have a shared history in the United States. They include Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Pacific Islander (e.g., native Hawaiian, Samoan, Chamorro, etc.), South Asian (e.g., Asian Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, etc.), and Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Lao, Hmong, Kampuchean, Thai, Indonesian, Malaysian, Singaporean, etc.) Americans. The complexity of the term Asian/Pacific American is illustrated by noting the many ethnicities within the larger subcategories such as Southeast Asian American. Asian/Pacific Americans have been a part of the history and landscape of Washington from the European and American exploration period of the late eighteenth century. They have contributed much to the social, political, economic, and cultural development of Washington. This overview presents the broad patterns of Asian/Pacific American history in Washington and seeks to identify and place in historical context the main factors influencing and shaping this history.

### OVERVIEW OF SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Asian/Pacific Americans numbered 210,958 in Washington State in 1990. Most of this population lives in the Puget Sound region in the urban area of Seattle-Tacoma, a settlement pattern which is not so different from the earliest period of Asian/Pacific American settlement in Washington State. In 1890 there were 3,260 Chinese living in Washington with King and Jefferson counties having the largest numbers and Spokane, Walla Walla, and Wahkiakum having significant numbers. By the turn of the century the Chinese population peaked at 3,629 and was concentrated in the urban areas of Seattle-Tacoma, Spokane, Walla Walla, and Port Townsend, with King County having the heaviest concentration of Chinese. The 1920 census registered a decline in the Chinese population to 2,363 with more than half living in King County, which clearly shows the impact of exclusionary immigration restrictions. By 1960 more than three-fourths of the 5,491 Chinese in Washington lived in Seattle. Similarly, in 1900 there were 5,617 Japanese in Washington with almost three-fifths living in King County and another tenth in Pierce County. In 1920 there were 17,387 Japanese in Washington with 10,954 living in King County, 2,652 in Pierce County and significant numbers in Yakima, Kittitas, Spokane, Snohomish, and Lewis counties. After the World War II internment of Japanese Americans their population declined and in 1950 was almost half of its 1920 population with more than two-thirds living in King



County and one-eighth in Spokane County. The greatest concentration of Filipinos was also in King County. There were 958 Filipinos in Washington in 1920, 3,480 in 1930, and 7,110 in 1960 with almost two-thirds living in King County and significant numbers in Pierce, Kitsap, and Yakima counties. After the relaxation of immigration restrictions in 1965 the numbers of immigrants and refugees from Asia increased dramatically. By 1980 there were more than 109,000 Asian Pacific Americans in Washington with 60 percent living in King County and another 15 percent living in Pierce County.<sup>1</sup>

## EARLY IMMIGRATION PATTERNS

The immigrants from Asia and the Pacific in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were predominantly young single men eager to make a better life for themselves in the new land of North America. Most came to work since there was a labor shortage in the rapidly developing Pacific Northwest.

### Hawaiian Immigration

Hawaiians were the first of these immigrants to work in large numbers in Washington. Hawaii became an important station for the Pacific sea trade soon after its contact with the West in 1778. British and American ships on their way to and from the Pacific Northwest for furs to trade in China would stop for rest and provisions in Hawaii. A system of contract labor was developed in which Hawaiians (variously called Kanakas, Owyhees, Blue Men, or Sandwich Islanders), known for their seamanship, were employed as sailors. Thus, Hawaiians first came to Washington as sailors and accompanied the early expeditions inland. Later they were recruited to provide some of the first skilled and unskilled laborers for the fur trade. With more than a thousand Hawaiians in the area during the first half of the nineteenth century, there were communities scattered throughout the Pacific Northwest including “Kanaka (Owhyhee) Village” adjoining Fort Vancouver, where most Hawaiians lived, and Fort Walla Walla. Many Hawaiians intermarried with Indians including the Chinook, Chehalis, and Cowlitz and many Hawaiians settled with their Indian wives in Kanaka Bay (False Bay), San Juan Island. The town of Kalama 40 miles north of Vancouver, Washington, was named after the Kalama River which bears the name of John Kalama, a Hawaiian who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company and married one of the daughters of the Chief of the Nisqually tribe. The Kalama family once owned the land on which Fort Lewis stands.<sup>2</sup>

### Chinese Immigration

The Chinese were the first Asians to arrive in large numbers in the nineteenth century. The overpopulated regions of southeastern China had used immigration as a safety valve since the seventeenth century. Large numbers of emigrants went to Southeast Asia and later to the Caribbean. In the mid-nineteenth century a major out-migration occurred as China was weakened by the impact of Western imperialism and torn by the Taiping Rebellion and clan warfare which especially devastated Guangdong. Formal emigration to the United States was illegal until the 1868 Burlingame treaty which guaranteed free migration of Chinese, but people around the Guangzhou (Canton) region in Guangdong province already had access to the port of Hong Kong, which had been controlled by the British since 1842. Tens of thousands took passage from Hong Kong to countries all over the world, including Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations, and California to participate in the Gold Rush as well as to work on the railroads and in agriculture. The earliest recorded Chinese in the Pacific Northwest were artisans from Canton who came to Nootka on Vancouver Island in 1788 aboard the British trading ship Felice captained by John Meares. These artisans built the first ship constructed on the Northwest coast, the Northwest America. Other trading ships brought more Chinese artisans and sailors and many may have settled in Washington, but the first significant numbers of Chinese in Washington came in the 1860s, drawn by news of the discovery of gold in eastern Washington. In the 1870s many more Chinese were recruited to work on railroad construction and in other growing industries. Few Chinese women came in the early years.

### Japanese Immigration

The first recorded Japanese were three shipwrecked sailors from Owari, Japan, whose ship beached 15 miles south of Cape Flattery near the mouth of Puget Sound after drifting 14 months. Natural disasters in the central area of the main island of Honshu along with deflationary governmental policies, which adversely affected Japanese farmers, led many Japanese to contract to work on Hawaiian sugar plantations from the mid-1880s. Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898. After the passage of the Organic Act in 1900 officially organizing the Territory of Hawaii, many Japanese plantation workers took passage from Hawaii to California and the Pacific Northwest, attracted by high pay and plentiful job opportunities. Working initially as laborers in railroads, lumber, and agriculture, Japanese in Washington eventually sought self-employment by establishing farms, dairies, and small businesses.

## Korean Immigration

About 7,000 Koreans were also recruited for the sugar plantations in Hawaii from 1903 to 1905. About 1,000 of them went on to work on the Pacific West Coast of the U.S. mainland. The main settlement of Koreans in Washington was in Seattle with a small number living in Yakima. They, too, worked mainly as laborers in Washington's industries. Korea became a protectorate of Japan in 1905 and was later annexed by Japan in 1910. Further immigration was severely restricted by Japan after 1905. Greater numbers of Koreans would arrive after 1950. Korea's annexation by Japan in 1910 politicized the Korean community in America. For much of the period between 1910 and the liberation of Korea at the end of World War II in 1945, the Korean community in America became the main source of leadership and financial support of the nationalist movement to liberate Korea.

## South Asian Immigration

Most of India had been colonized by the British by the mid-nineteenth century. South Asians, as citizens of the British Empire, had the right of migration to any territory within the British empire. Poor economic conditions at the turn of the century and increased rural indebtedness led to increased emigration to North America. The employment opportunities on the Pacific Coast of Canada proved especially attractive. Agents for the Canadian Pacific Railway were active in recruiting Sikhs in the Punjab; Canadian Pacific steamship companies also promoted migration. Yet, once in Canada, South Asians met much hostility. Eventually, the government of Canada developed a policy that effectively ended Indian migration. For example, according to the 1908 "continuous voyage" provision of Canadian immigration law, immigrants who did not travel in a single, direct voyage from their native country, which included most South Asians, could be excluded from Canada. The effect of this exclusionist policy was to deflect Asian Indian immigration to North America from Canada to the United States. Although most South Asians eventually settled in California, many initially worked on railroad construction and in lumber mills in Washington since Washington State was closest to Vancouver, where the majority of South Asians were concentrated in Canada.<sup>3</sup> By the 1910 census there were 1,414 South Asians in Washington State.<sup>4</sup>

## Filipino Immigration

In 1898, the United States annexed Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands became an American possession with the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War, though Filipino resistance to U.S. takeover continued until 1902. Filipinos were not granted U.S. citizenship but were U.S. nationals with the right to freely migrate to any place within U.S. territories. Thus, around the turn of the century Filipinos began to migrate to Hawaii and the Pacific Coast states. Early arrivals included Filipina wives of American servicemen who had fought in the Spanish-American War. For example, Rufina Clemente Jenkins lived in Seattle from 1909 with her U.S. Army cavalry sergeant husband, Francis, and their four children. Many Filipinos came to Washington State for education and those subsidized by the Philippine territorial government were called pensionados/pensionadas. They studied at the University of Washington and Washington State University as well as at high schools. Broadway High in Seattle had such a high concentration of Filipinos that there were even special classes for Filipinos. Most of these students supported their studies by working in the fields and canneries, as well as in the cities as domestics ("schoolboys"), cooks and dishwashers in restaurants, and bellboys in hotels. Educated in the Philippines under an American educational system and often taught by American teachers, Filipinos believed in the American Dream and believed themselves to be part of that dream. They took passage to Washington to seize opportunities for further education and work. Here they provided much needed labor especially in agriculture and the canneries after 1920.<sup>5</sup>

## ECONOMIC ROLE

Asian immigrants were generally young, ambitious, and full of hope as they departed the lands of their birth. Their labor helped build major segments of the Washington economy such as the fur trade, mining, railroads, agriculture, lumbering, canneries, fishing, small businesses, and domestic services.

## Fur Trade

Hawaiians provided an indispensable source of labor for the early development of Washington, especially the fur trade. The swimming and diving skills of the Hawaiians were highly valued. They were also said to have great skill in fording rivers and handling boats. Journals of the times declared that "they had never seen watermen equal to them, even among the voyageurs of the Northwest; and indeed, they are remarkable for their skill in managing their light craft, and can swim and dive like waterfowl."<sup>6</sup> Fur traders attested to their importance: "The Owyhees however are such expert swimmers that little of our effects are lost beyond recovery which accident now and then consigns to the bottom of the water in our perilous navigation: and it is next to impossible for a person to get drowned if one or more of them are near at hand . . ."<sup>7</sup> Hawaiians were also employed in the sawmills, and worked as farmers, shepherds, and carpenters. Many place names in Washington State attest to the presence of Hawaiians working in this early period. Kanaka Bay (False Bay), San Juan Island is named for Hawaiian shepherders who settled there with their Indian

wives. Friday Harbor, San Juan Island, reportedly was named for the Hawaiian shepherd Joe Friday (Joseph Poalie), although other legends about the place name persist.

The original name when established was Bellevue or Bellevue Farm. An alternate name in the early days was Friday's Place, or Kanaka's Place, for a Hawaiian islander who herded sheep here for the Hudson's Bay Company and whose name was Joe Friday. In 1858, it was charted under the present name by Capt. Henry Richards, R. N. Legend has it that he hailed a shepherd and asked "What bay is this?" Believing he had been asked "What day is it" he replied, "Friday."

Cox's Plain near Fort Vancouver was named for the Hawaiian swine herder Cox (Naukane) who lived on the plain.<sup>8</sup>

## Mining

Mining was one of the first major industries to arise in Washington after the decline of the fur trade and Chinese immigrants were prominent here. In the 1860s Chinese miners were attracted by gold strikes along the Columbia River in Eastern Washington. By 1864, hundreds of Chinese miners could be found working claims purchased from whites along the upper Columbia River 150 miles upstream from Rock Island. Numbering as many as 1,500, by 1870 Chinese miners in Eastern Washington outnumbered white miners 2 to 1. Most of the Chinese miners were contracted by San Francisco or Portland based Chinese companies. Large Chinese mining camps were located along the Columbia River from the Chelan Falls area to above Colville. A class of Chinese small businessmen arose to service the needs of the miners in these camps. Chinese began operating stores, laundries, and barber shops and growing vegetables and fruits for the miners. Typical of these Chinese camps was the Chinese village located one-half mile from Chelan Falls. This camp was established in the mid-1860s and was the first and largest Chinese camp in the Upper Columbia region. Houses there were built of cedar boards with log and brush roofs.<sup>9</sup> It is estimated that by working abandoned claims, Chinese mined several million dollars worth of gold dust that would otherwise have been lost to Washington's economy.<sup>10</sup>

Chinese labor also was important in the coal mines of Washington. Chinese labor contractors supplied workers from the 1870s to mid-1880s to coal mines in Black Diamond, Coal Creek, Franklin, Newcastle, and Renton.

## Railroads

Critical to the development of Washington's economy was a railroad transportation system that could move people and products efficiently. The railroads knit Washington together and connected Washington with the eastern half of the United States. Railroads opened new markets and facilitated the transporting of settlers to Washington. Asian labor was important in building and maintaining this vital network.

Chinese were recruited to help build the major railroad lines in Washington. In 1871 the Northern Pacific Railroad, using 2,000 Chinese contract laborers from San Francisco, began laying the western part of its line from Kalama, north of Vancouver, Washington, to Tacoma. More Chinese were recruited directly from China a decade later to complete the Northern Pacific. The Northern Pacific was completed through Portland when in 1883, some 17,000 Chinese laborers, comprising two-thirds of the workforce, had cleared and graded the land, built bridges, and laid tracks.

Chinese were instrumental in building every major railroad line in Washington. Examples include the Renton to Newcastle line that enabled Seattle to become the main coal port on the West Coast, and the Stampede Pass tunnel through the Cascade Mountains connecting the Northern Pacific line in the Puget Sound to Spokane Falls and the states in the east. Chinese were responsible for practically all railroad grading in Spokane, Stevens, and Whitman Counties.<sup>11</sup>

Japanese immigrants also were recruited to expand and maintain the railroad system in Washington. Railroad work on the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern was one of the first jobs for many Japanese. Seattle and Portland, were the main centers supplying Japanese railroad workers in the Pacific Northwest. Japanese laborers built the Stevens Pass tunnel for the Great Northern and their presence was commemorated in the naming of a sawmill town, Nippon (later called Alpine). Japanese worked initially as section hands, but later had other jobs such as engine watchmen and foremen. Often they were housed in railroad boxcars and bunkhouse barracks. If their wives were present, they were able to add to the family income by cooking for the single men.<sup>12</sup>

The railroads continued to be a source of employment for other Asian immigrants. Filipinos principally worked on the Great Northern line, which employed them as cooks and porters as well as on work crews. Railroad work was also one of the first jobs for South Asians entering the United States. Though some found work as section hands, most found only temporary railroad construction work. South Asians did not remain in railroad construction for long, in part because they were paid less than Italian and Greek railroad workers. In addition, since South Asians had been extensively recruited to work on railroads in Tacoma to replace striking Italian railroad workers, they were not well received by other ethnic railroad workers.<sup>13</sup>

## Fishing

The Chinese were Puget Sound's first non-Indian fishermen. Using huge seine nets measuring 900 feet long and 240 feet deep Chinese fished in Elliott Bay, at Port Madison on the Kitsap Peninsula, and established a fishing colony locally called "Hong Kong" near Manzanita on the west side of Maury Island. Chinese fishermen caught, salted and dried a wide variety of fish. They also bought large quantities of fish from the Indians. The dried fish were at first shipped to San Francisco.<sup>14</sup>

Although Japanese were important in the fishing industry in California, they did not play a similar role in Washington because state laws did not allow them to obtain commercial fishing licenses after 1915. The 1915 law made it unlawful for Asian immigrants, who were prohibited from becoming naturalized citizens ". . . to take for sale or profit any salmon or other food or shellfish." However, Japanese did play an important role in establishing the state's oyster industry. Japanese are credited with introducing the large Japanese oyster into Puget Sound. Joe Miyagi and Emy Tsukimoto are said to be the first to successfully transplant the Japanese oyster into Samish Bay near Bellingham. From there it spread to other sheltered bays. Willapa Bay became an important oystering area. Japanese oysters now make up a large part of the seafood industry of the Northwest.<sup>15</sup>

## Canning

Asian labor was important for the salmon canning industry. Salmon fishing and canning started in 1866 on the Columbia River, in 1874 on Puget Sound, and in 1878 in Alaska. Canneries were established in Kitsap, Whatcom, and Cray's Harbor counties. The canneries depended on the reliable Chinese labor force that could be provided by Chinese labor contractors on a seasonal basis. There were over 800 Chinese in Whatcom County in 1900 due in great part to seasonal Chinese workers in the salmon canneries. From the 1870s to the 1910s Chinese comprised the majority of cannery workers on the West Coast. Most were employed to cut off the heads, tails and fins of the salmon, gut them, and wash out their cavities.<sup>16</sup>

By the mid-1890s the salmon runs in the Columbia River began to dwindle and fishing eventually shifted to the more plentiful Alaska fishing grounds. But Puget Sound remained the center of the fishing industry, and Seattle was the base for the main fleet and the dispatching point for the Alaska canneries. Chinese workers played a major role in the Alaska canneries, reaching a numerical peak in 1902 when of a total of 13,822 cannery workers, 5,376 were Chinese. Japanese laborers became important in the Washington and Alaska canneries when the supply of Chinese declined in the early twentieth century due to the effects of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. By 1906, 20 percent of the cannery workers in Washington were Japanese. There were some 3,000 Japanese cannery workers in the Alaska canneries in 1912. Later, in the 1920s, the canneries were a source of summer jobs for the nisei or second generation Japanese Americans. From the late 1920s Filipinos became an important source of labor for the Alaska salmon canneries. These Alaskeros, Filipinos working in the Alaska salmon canneries, added to the growing population of Filipinos in Washington since Seattle was the dispatching point for the Alaska canneries. There were 4,000 Filipinos working in the canneries in 1930.<sup>17</sup>

## Lumber Industry

Asians helped meet the critical demand for labor in the rapidly expanding lumber industry in Washington. Between 1857 and 1889, the early years of the lumber industry, Chinese helped to construct logging roads in Kitsap County and along the Hood Canal, and worked in lumber mills in Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, and Seattle. The Wa Chong Company of Seattle was the main labor contractor supplying Chinese workers for the lumber mills. Later, Japanese worked in lumber camps and sawmills at Mukilteo, Enumclaw, Eatonville, National, and Port Blakely. Japanese performed skilled and semiskilled labor including work as trimmers, edgermen, planing-mill feeders, lumber graders, lathe mill men, and carpenters. They also worked on the logging camp railroads, which paid more than the regular railroad lines. Some Japanese went on to run their own small sawmills such as the one in Kent run by Sentaro Tsuboi.<sup>18</sup> Filipinos also worked in the lumber mills. In fact, historian Fred Cordova notes that the first recorded Filipino in the Territory of Washington was a Filipino sawmill worker in Port Blakely on Bainbridge Island in 1883.<sup>19</sup> South Asians were employed in sawmills in areas such as Bellingham and Tacoma.

## Agriculture

Farming was a chief occupation of many Asian immigrants. Chinese in mining camps raised produce for the miners. Chinese in Port Townsend farmed at the North Beach "Chinese Gardens and supplied most of the vegetables for that town as well as marketing some of their vegetables in Seattle. Chinese vegetable farmers in Spokane peddled their produce door to door. Walla Walla became an early center for Chinese farming. At the turn of the century, Walla Walla had a Chinese population of about 400 to 500, most of whom were engaged in vegetable gardening on the outskirts of town. Called the "Chinese Gardens," Chinese farming colonies in the Walla Walla area rented productive agricultural land in the lowlands of the valley streams. At first they sold vegetables in the local market, but with the establishment of shipping houses in the early 1890s, Chinese gardeners began selling to the shippers for distribution

to more distant markets. "Chinese greens" were sent to Seattle-area Chinese for years. Other areas of Washington were not as hospitable as Walla Walla: the potato pits of Chinese potato growers were dynamited by Oak Harbor residents in the mid-1880s. Chinese also worked as agricultural laborers, many working in the Yakima Valley and Puyallup hop fields in the late nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

Japanese were especially prominent farmers in Washington. They supplied the major cities with most of their fresh vegetables, small fruits, greenhouse products and some dairy products. Japanese cleared uncultivated land and established farms east of the Cascades in the Yakima Valley around Wapato and in Spokane, and west of the Cascades in the White River Valley, Puyallup, South Park, Georgetown, Green Lake, Vashon Island, Bainbridge Island, and Bellevue. The White River Valley had by far the highest concentration of Japanese farmers. Many of the farmers sold their products at Seattle's Pike Place Public Market. By the start of World War I, 70 percent of the stalls there were occupied by Japanese. In the prewar years, Japanese supplied 75 percent of the region's vegetables and most of its berries and small fruits. In the 1920s, Japanese dairies produced half of Seattle's milk supply.<sup>21</sup>

Asian labor generally was important to agriculture in Washington. Some of the earliest Japanese to come to Washington were recruited to clear agricultural land in the Yakima Valley. From the late 1920s, Filipinos were an important source of migrant labor for agriculture in Washington as a seasonal work force in spring during planting and in fall during harvest; summers were spent in the Alaska salmon canneries. They were important in the apple, strawberry, and hops harvest in areas including Vashon Island, Puyallup Valley, Wenatchee Valley, and Yakima Valley. There was always critical need for timely, reliable, seasonal laborers at harvest. Some Filipino migrant workers were able to become farmers, most notably in the Yakima Valley.

## Business

In urban and rural areas, Asian immigrants opened small businesses that serviced both their own communities and the general public. Restaurants were and continue to be a successful enterprise for Asian immigrants. Every major city in Washington had a Chinese restaurant. The Canton Cafe in Aberdeen was opened by Japanese immigrants in 1912, taken over by a Mr. Lew and Mr. Locke in 1917 and then sold to Ben Locke and a Mr. Chin in 1926.<sup>22</sup> Asians also operated restaurants such as the Philippine Cafe, owned in the 1930s by Bibiana Montante Laigo. In many cities such as Yakima, Wenatchee, and Spokane, restaurants have provided the main economic base for Chinese Americans, even to the present day. Restaurants and stores have often served as social gathering places for the Asian community.

Asians ran laundries, general merchandise and grocery stores, tailor shops, barber shops, hotels and boarding houses. In Seattle, the International District was a center for many of these businesses. Some of the largest businesses were the Wa Chong Company founded by Chin Chun Hock, the Quong-Tuck Company founded by the legendary Chin Gee Hee who returned in 1905 to China to construct China's first railway, the K. Hirada Company, and the M. Furuya Company, which had branches in Tacoma; Portland; Vancouver, B.C.; and Yokohama and Kobe, Japan, in addition to banking operations.

Trade with Asia has always been important to Washington, and Asian immigrants were important in international trade. In the late nineteenth century the Quong-Tuck Company imported Chinese products. The Wa Chong Company exported such Northwest products as lumber and flour to China, while the M. Furuya Company had branches in two cities in Japan. The Seattle-based Philippine & Eastern Trading Company was in operation in 1941.<sup>23</sup>

## EXCLUSIONARY AND RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION

Asian/Pacific Americans were instrumental in the economic growth of Washington, yet from the start they were subject to exclusion and discrimination. They arrived with great hopes, but soon discovered that the definition of "American" in the pre-World War II period was exclusive, not inclusive. Asian immigrants learned to expect, though not accept, discrimination in America. They fought for their human and civil rights through diplomatic channels, and through the courts, and when those avenues failed, through creative resistance. In the process they laid the foundations for the establishment and growth of their communities.

## Hawaiian Exclusion

During the organization in 1849 of the Oregon territory, which included present day Washington State, Hawaiians were denied the right to become American citizens. In 1850 they were denied the right to claim land. The racist nature of this discrimination against Hawaiians was clearly revealed by the words of the first territorial delegate, Samuel R. Thurston, who characterized the Hawaiians as "a race of men as black as your negroes of the South, and a race, too, that we do not desire to settle in Oregon." Denied citizenship and the right to claim land, many Hawaiians returned to Hawaii or moved to California where they were still valued for their seamanship. Many others intermarried with Indians and remained.<sup>24</sup>

## Chinese Exclusion

The treatment of Chinese immigrants followed the same pattern as that of the Hawaiians and, in turn, set the pattern for later Asian immigrants. One of the first measures adopted by the newly created Washington Territorial legislature in 1853 was a law denying Chinese voting rights. Additional laws were adopted by the Territorial legislature in 1863 to bar Chinese from testifying in court cases involving whites and in 1864 to levy a poll tax on Chinese living in Washington Territory. This latter act's title clearly stated its racist intent: "An Act to Protect Free White Labor Against Competition with Chinese Coolie Labor and to Discourage the Immigration of Chinese in the Territory." Chinese were constantly subjected to regulations and prohibitions that sought to exclude them from Washington. Immigration exclusion acts were the most damaging of these legal constraints.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first in a series of exclusionary acts passed by the U.S. Congress that stunted the growth of Asian groups in America and distorted their population composition, creating, in the case of the Chinese, an aging "bachelor" society. Passed in the midst of an economic recession in which Chinese became the scapegoat for exclusionists on the West Coast, the Chinese Exclusion Act set a dangerous precedent that would have far-reaching effects for subsequent Asian immigrants. There were two major provisions of the act. The first suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers, skilled, unskilled and those engaged in mining, for 10 years. The second provision denied the right of naturalization to Chinese. The Chinese Exclusion Act was extended twice with additional restrictions in 1892 and 1902 and in 1904 was extended indefinitely.

Since very few Chinese women had come before 1880 and Chinese laborers were not able to send for wives after 1882, there was little hope for having a settled family life in America after the Chinese Exclusion Act. By the 1900 census, Chinese males outnumbered Chinese females 26 to 1. In effect, the Chinese Exclusion Act prevented the formation of families in the Chinese community, condemning the Chinese in America to becoming an aging bachelor society. Since no new Chinese laborers were allowed into the United States after 1882, the population decreased dramatically with each census from 1890 to 1920.

The anti-Chinese movement intensified after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. With the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad via Portland in 1883 and Canadian Pacific in 1885 and the onset of an economic depression, the Chinese became an easy scapegoat for white frustrations in Washington. On September 5, 1885, three Chinese were killed in an attack on their camp at a hop farm in what is now Issaquah, a few miles east of Seattle. Later that month Chinese were driven out of coal mines in Black Diamond, south of Seattle; the Franklin mines, at Newcastle; and Renton. Chinese were driven out of the lumber mills on the San Juan Islands and at Port Townsend. In November, Tacoma residents took care of the "Chinese problem" by loading 700 Chinese into wagons that took them to trains headed for Portland, Oregon, and then burning the Chinese district in Tacoma, which had housed the largest numbers of Chinese in the territory. No new Chinese district was ever re-established in Tacoma. Seattle held anti-Chinese rallies in September and October calling for the ouster of Chinese from Seattle. In February 1886 most of the 350 Chinese in Seattle were hauled off in wagons to the docks to be loaded onto steamers leaving Seattle. Sporadic attacks against Chinese continued until the turn of the century, including attacks at Walla Walla, Pasco, and the massacre of 31 Chinese miners on the Snake River.<sup>25</sup>

## Japanese Exclusion

The Chinese Exclusion Act set a precedent for the exclusion of all Asian immigrants. In 1907-1908 under pressure by the United States, and hoping to halt anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States, the Japanese government agreed to prohibit the emigration of Japanese laborers to the United States. The Japanese government, however, continued to allow wives, children, and parents of Japanese in the United States to emigrate; the Japanese community in Washington continued to grow as Japanese sent for their wives in the years after 1908, and a generation of American-born Japanese Americans resulted. Exclusionists found fault with the Japanese government's desire to allow the formation of families in the Japanese American community. The Japanese government believed that a healthy, stable, family-oriented Japanese American community, committed to permanent settlement in America, would eliminate anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States. But to exclusionists the coming of Japanese wives meant an increase in the population of the hated Japanese. Even more abhorrent to exclusionists was the resulting birth of a generation with U.S. citizenship since exclusionists could never accept the possibility that a person of Japanese ancestry could be an American. For exclusionists, race was the key ingredient in determining who could be an American.

## Asiatic Barred Zone

Further immigration restrictions were imposed against Asians by the Immigration Act of 1917 which created an "Asiatic barred zone including India, Siam, Indochina, parts of Siberia, Afghanistan, Arabia, and the islands of Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Borneo, New Guinea, and Celebes, from which no immigrants could come. In 1924, Congress passed a major comprehensive immigration law prohibiting the immigration of "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The only

“aliens ineligible to citizenship” were Asian. After 1924 no Asian immigration was permitted. This immigration law closed the doors of the United States to all Asian immigration except Filipinos.

## Filipinos

The racist nature of discrimination against Asian immigrants is unmistakable when one looks at the treatment of Filipinos. Since the Philippine Islands were an American possession after the Spanish-American War in 1898, Filipinos were U.S. nationals possessing the right to migrate to any part of the United States. Since they were not aliens, the 1924 immigration act that prohibited the immigration of “aliens ineligible to citizenship” did not apply to them. Therefore, when exclusionary immigration laws had cut off the supply of Asian labor from China, Japan, and India, Filipinos could step in to fill the labor needs of Washington. Filipinos became an important and visible component in Washington's migrant work labor force in agriculture and in the canneries. But, since whites did not recognize their U.S. national status, Filipinos were considered by whites to be foreigners robbing them of economic opportunities.

Filipinos were often physically assaulted by exclusionists. Some of the earliest anti-Filipino riots in the United States occurred in Washington. In November 1927, white raiders drove some Filipinos in the Toppenish area of the Yakima Valley out of their houses, beat them, dumped their produce, and dragged many to freight trains leaving the Yakima Valley. A few days later a mob issued an ultimatum to Filipinos ordering them to leave the area by 6:00 or their homes would be destroyed. This 1927 riot set the pattern for later outbursts, such as the more widely reported incident in 1928 when Filipino apple workers were driven out from Cashmere and Wenatchee by a white mob. With the arrival of the Depression, economic rivalry increased racial tensions in the Yakima Valley leading to white vigilante activity. White unemployment made the situation more acute. In 1933, at a mass meeting in Wapato, some 250 white farmers and laborers voted to “request farmers in the Yakima Valley to stop employing Filipinos. These white farmers and laborers objected to the hiring of Filipinos on the grounds that Filipinos posed an unfair competition to white laborers and “mingled with white women. Notices were posted on Valley farmers' homes warning that the farms of those who persisted in employing Filipinos would be burned. There followed a rash of arson and dynamite bombings of Filipino-operated farms and of Japanese farms that employed Filipinos. In one incident, a leased tract 26 was bombed and buildings, crops, and equipment were destroyed.<sup>26</sup>

Filipinos were U.S. nationals, but, to whites, Filipinos were all too often just another kind of Asian to be excluded. Moreover, some Filipinos posed an added threat to whites, by dating and marrying white women. In the Toppenish, Wenatchee Valley, and Wapato incidents, Filipinos were perceived as foreigners robbing whites of economic opportunities, and as “barbaric black natives” dating and marrying local white women. For local white males, Filipinos posed both an economic and sexual threat to their dominance. This perceived sexual threat led in part to the attempt by the Washington Legislature to pass an anti-miscegenation law in which even the sanctity of marriage would be violated by racial discrimination. Patterned on the California anti-miscegenation law, the 1937 Senate Bill 342 proposed to prohibit “. . . any person of the Caucasian or white race to intermarry with any person of the Ethiopian or black race, Malayan or brown race, or Mongolian or yellow race, within this state . . . .”

Exclusionists believed the 1924 immigration act that excluded all Asian immigration should have applied to Filipinos but that Filipinos had escaped exclusion due to the technicality that they were not aliens. This technicality was remedied in 1934. Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which made the Philippines a commonwealth and promised full independence 10 years later, but limited Filipino migration to the U.S. to a quota of 50 persons each year. The Tydings-McDuffie Act was in effect a Filipino exclusion act. As a result, there was little growth in the Filipino population from 1934 to 1946.

## Effects of Exclusion

The exclusion acts created aging bachelor societies in the Chinese and Filipino communities. Because immigration exclusion laws prevented them from sending for wives and children and anti-miscegenation laws prevented intermarriage with whites, there was an absence of normal family life in the Chinese and Filipino communities. Physical manifestations of this bachelor society were taxi-dance halls and gambling houses in Chinatowns. Single room occupancy hotels like the Alps Hotel and Rainier Hotel in Seattle's International District were testimony to this bachelor existence.

Japanese, on the other hand, experienced steady growth in population since their government was politically strong enough to prevent the passage of total exclusion until 1924. There was enough time to establish a healthy second generation in America, though the numbers of Japanese were of course severely limited by restrictive immigration policies. In contrast to the Chinese and Filipinos, the Japanese had a more normal family life and developed a generation of American-born citizens.

## Denial of Naturalization Rights

The 1924 immigration law used the category “aliens ineligible to citizenship” to exclude Asians. The inability to become a naturalized American is the one key feature that distinguishes the Asian immigrant experience from that of

other immigrants to America. In 1790 Congress had originally set a racial condition for naturalization by restricting the right of naturalization to an alien who was a “free white person,” but after the Civil War in 1870 Congress extended the right of naturalization to former slaves by making “aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent also eligible. Naturalization laws did not specifically deny naturalization to Asian immigrants but the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act denied Chinese naturalization rights. Of course this act did not specify any other Asian group.

The question remained whether Asians could be classified within the definition of “free white.” Some lower federal courts had issued naturalization papers to some Japanese, for the 1910 census indicates that there were 420 naturalized Japanese. But the U.S. Attorney General ordered federal courts in 1906 to stop issuing naturalization papers to Japanese. Japanese took their case to the U.S. Supreme Court in the test case of Takao Ozawa, an immigrant who met all of the nonracial requirements for naturalization. In November 1922, the U.S. Supreme Court heard Ozawa’s case but ruled that Ozawa did not have the right of naturalization since he was of the Mongolian race and therefore was not judged to be either a free white person or an African by birth or descent. The court had affirmed a racial prerequisite for naturalization that excluded all Asians.

It is interesting to note how the court handled the question of naturalization rights of South Asians who by the racial classifications of that time were considered to be Aryan. Between 1914 and 1923, some 70 South Asians had become U.S. citizens based on the criterion that they were “high caste Hindus of Aryan race and were thus Caucasian and entitled to be considered “white persons” eligible for citizenship. Although in the 1922 Ozawa decision the court had based its ruling on the racial definition that white person meant Caucasian, in 1923 in the Bhagat Singh Thind decision, the U.S. Supreme Court further refined its exclusionary definition for naturalization by relying on the “understanding of the common man” rather than on a basis of racial classification. The court argued that Congress never meant to include South Asians in the definition of white persons since in 1790 Congress associated the term white persons with immigrants from northern and western Europe and in 1870 Congress assumed it meant Europeans. The court further reasoned that in denying South Asians immigration privileges in 1917 Congress was opposing their naturalization, too. The court concluded that neither the public nor Congress ever intended that South Asians be granted naturalization rights.<sup>27</sup>

Thus the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the legality of the useful category of “alien ineligible to citizenship.” In making Asians ineligible to citizenship, the Ozawa and Thind decisions greatly facilitated the total exclusion of all Asian immigration, and the 1924 Congressional Act used the category “alien ineligible to citizenship” in prohibiting all Asian immigration.

The denial of their naturalization rights led to the political weakness of the Asian immigrant communities in the pre-World War II period. Asian immigrants were permanently disenfranchised in America. No politician sought their political support nor cared for their needs. In fact, politicians found it popular among their voters to call for further restrictions against Asians.

### Anti-Alien Land Laws

The permanent status of Asian immigrants as “aliens ineligible to citizenship” also served as the basis for further discriminatory laws such as the anti-alien land laws passed in various West Coast states, which greatly restricted their economic opportunities. Section 33 of Article II of the Constitution of Washington State prohibited the ownership of land “by aliens other than those who in good faith have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States. In 1921 and 1923 the Washington State Legislature passed further anti-alien land laws that prohibited not only land ownership by aliens who had not declared their intent to become U.S. citizens, but also prohibited their leasing, renting, and sharecropping of land. Lands held by such aliens were to be escheated to the State. Forbidden by U.S. naturalization laws from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens, Asian immigrants could not own, lease, rent, or sharecrop land in Washington since they could not “in good faith” declare their intention to become citizens of the United States. This law severely restricted the economic opportunities of Asian immigrants in Washington. Washington State’s anti-alien land laws were not repealed until 1966.

Furthermore, despite the fact that Filipinos were U. S. nationals and not aliens, Washington anti-alien land laws were generally interpreted to apply to them. Filipinos were considered to be “noncitizens” who could not “in good faith” file their intention to become citizens since they were considered to be Asian and not eligible for citizenship. To counter Filipino contentions that the anti-alien land laws did not apply to them since they were not aliens, the State Legislature amended the 1921 alien land law in March 1937 to include in the definition of alien “all persons who are noncitizens of the United States and who are ineligible to citizenship by naturalization.” Cropping contracts with such aliens also were prohibited. Filipinos thus were prevented from setting up farms of their own and condemned to migrant labor status.

The impact of these anti-alien land laws was significant. Many Japanese farmers left Washington for other states that had no anti-alien land laws. Oregon provided a brief haven until it, too, passed an anti-alien land law in 1923. Other Japanese farmers continued to farm through subleases and labor agreements with white farmers and later through their children, nisei, who as U.S.-born citizens could legally buy, lease, and rent land for their parents. Some Filipinos were able to farm by following the Japanese tactic of establishing labor agreements with white nominal



farmers to remain within the law. The anti-alien land laws influenced the kinds of crops that Japanese farmers grew in the Yakima Valley. The increased land costs associated with subleasing led Japanese farmers to choose labor intensive crops that generated high yields on small parcels.

### Forever Foreign

While Asian immigrants systematically were denied every avenue of legally becoming American, they were faulted for being foreign. Exclusionist forces perceived Asian immigrants as being incapable of becoming an American. In the eyes of exclusionists, somehow the highly touted melting pot of America could never be hot enough to melt Asian immigrants into the pot of America. A case in point is the editorial statement of Bellingham's *The Reveille* after the September 1907 Bellingham anti-"Hindu" riot. On September 6, 1907, *The Reveille* stated "From every standpoint it is most undesirable that these Asians should be permitted to remain in the United States. They are repulsive in appearance and disgusting in their manners . . . their actions and customs are so different from ours that there can never be tolerance of them. They contribute nothing to the growth and upbuilding of the city as the result of their labors."

The immigrants were not ignorant of the impossible position in which they were placed by the irrationality of the exclusionists who denied them naturalization, socially discriminated against them, economically restricted them and yet demanded that Asians assimilate or be excluded. Yet these groups did survive and managed to build stable communities through supportive organizations.

## RESISTANCE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

### Chinese American Community

Adversity forged community organization. In the Chinese American community, support was provided by family associations, district associations composed of members who came from the same districts in China, and secret societies which often espoused nationalist causes. Many of these organizations were called tongs, literally halls, parlors, or meeting places. The word was used in the names of trade guilds. The tongs were fraternal orders like the more familiar Elks Lodge, Masonic Lodge, or Moose Lodge, but in America the media and exclusionists portrayed Chinese tongs as a group of criminals involved in prostitution, gambling, and opium smuggling. District associations and family associations were organized to provide for the needs of their members and promote their interests. These community organizations provided protection, shelter, employment, and loans. The Gee How Oak Tin Benevolent Association was the largest family association in Seattle. Its members consisted of families with the surnames Chin, Woo, Chan, and Yuen. Most Seattle Chinese belonged to organizations whose members came from the same districts in China. Most belonged to the Sam Yap, Sze Yap, or Ning Yung District Associations, of which the Ning Yung was the largest. The Hip Sing, Hop Sing, Suey Sing, and Bing Kung tongs were the four secret societies in Seattle. In 1910 the Chong Wa Benevolent Association was established as a confederation of associations to govern the affairs of Chinatown. Such a confederation was needed since there was no other local voice to protect the rights of Chinese in Washington. The Chong Wa office was on the top floor of the Quong Yick Investment Building on Eighth and King Street. In Walla Walla the Bing Kong Bow Leong Association was prominent. The associations worked to stop anti-Chinese exclusion laws and helped to promote and support Chinese language schools, religion, Chinese opera, and other cultural and social activities.<sup>28</sup>

The Chinese community in Washington became more urbanized in the late nineteenth century and had its highest concentration in the Seattle area. Although the 1886 Seattle Chinese expulsion had virtually depopulated the once thriving Seattle Chinatown, a few businessmen like Chin Gee Hee and Ah King managed to stay in business and became labor contractors who brought renewed immigration of Chinese laborers as Seattle continued to expand. Chinese merchants dominated the Chinatown community. Merchants were exempt from the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and could petition to bring their families to the U.S. Many Chinese were able to obtain this coveted "merchant status" by becoming stockholders in a small merchant shop like the Yet Wo Company in Port Townsend.<sup>29</sup> Chinese women worked with their husbands in small businesses while raising a family like Lew Fung Hai (Mrs. Luke Lung Sing) who worked long hours in the family laundry business in Seattle while raising six children.<sup>30</sup>

Seattle's Chinatown started in the 1860s with shops along the waterfront at Western Avenue, gradually moving to Washington Street between Second and Fourth Avenues near the Columbia train station and eventually, after the 1889 Seattle fire, the 1908 Jackson-Dearborn regrade, and the mid-1920s Second Avenue Extension, centered on lower King Street from Eighth Avenue to Maynard Avenue and Jackson Street to Weller Street. Chin Gee Hee built one of the first brick buildings in Seattle after the 1889 fire, with his Quong Tuck Company on the street level. Next to the Canton Building was the headquarters of the Hop Sing Tong. The various Chinese associations constructed buildings with recessed balconies reminiscent of buildings in southeast China. Storefronts occupied the street levels of these buildings with small hotel rooms and the association hall on the upper levels. Chinatown consisted mainly of restaurants and multi-functional merchant stores that served as social gathering places for the community. Chinatown

hotels like the Milwaukee Hotel on King and Seventh Avenue built by Goon Dip Provided housing for much of the Chinese community.<sup>31</sup>

Spokane, Port Townsend, and Walla Walla also had small Chinatowns. In 1911 the Chinese in Walla Walla united to build a two-story brick building on Fifth Avenue and Rose Street to accommodate Chinese businesses as well as provide residential quarters for Chinese. The building was the focal point for the Walla Walla Chinatown until it was torn down in the 1960s.<sup>32</sup>

## Japanese American Community

Japanese Americans had their own community support organizations. Kenjinkai were associations whose members came from the same prefecture in Japan. The largest were the Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, and Kumamoto kenjinkai. The kenjinkai provided mutual aid by helping immigrants find employment and providing financial aid to those in need and held socials such as annual picnics and dinner meetings. In the Yakima Valley, the Kumamoto kenjinkai could field their own baseball team at Japanese community socials.

By far the most important community organization for Japanese were the local branches of the Japanese Association. The Japanese Association of Washington was organized in 1900 in Seattle with Tatsuya Arai as its first president. It later became the Japanese Association of North America, which consisted of representatives from more than 30 community groups and clubs. The chief function of the association, which continued until World War II, was to protect the interests of the Japanese community; its main efforts were directed toward fighting the numerous discriminatory and restrictive laws and regulations passed against the Japanese. The association in Washington supported several court cases argued in the State Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court. Association leaders in each community helped to promote better relations between the Japanese and white communities. The associations also supported activities to promote the education of the second generation, the nisei. Later, the American-born generation, the nisei, established the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) in Seattle, which fostered nisei leadership. James Sakamoto, the editor and publisher of the English language newspaper, *Japanese American Courier*, was a leading figure in the prewar JACL in Washington.

Japanese Buddhist as well as Christian churches were important in the religious and social life of the Japanese American community. Church activity enlarged the social contacts and leadership roles of Japanese women with the numerous bazaars and social gatherings organized largely by the women's group, the fujinkai. The churches became the social center for the young nisei with church-organized sports as well as socials, movies, and theater. While separate religious observances were held, the local Buddhist church would often cooperate with the local Japanese American Christian church in organizing joint social activities.

Christian churches actively proselytized the Japanese immigrants by providing necessary services such as English language classes, employment help, and social aid, in addition to Christian teachings. The First Baptist Church of Seattle started English language and Bible study classes for Japanese immigrants in 1891 and, in 1893, the American Baptist Mission society organized a Japanese Mission in a 27-room house on Jefferson Street in Seattle. This mission served as the first home for many young Japanese immigrant men. Other missions were established in Orillia, Auburn, Green River, O'Brian, Port Blakely, and Tacoma. In 1899, the Japanese Baptist Church was established with Reverend Fukumatsu Okazaki as pastor. Okazaki had been among the first Japanese at the 1891 English language and Bible classes and had been ordained a minister in 1894. The present church building on East Spruce Street was built in 1922. The Japanese Baptist Church provided many needed social services such as establishing a mission for Japanese women, the Fujin Home, in 1904 and later organizing the Japanese Baptist Church Nursery. At one point, the church had the largest Sunday School among all Japanese ethnic churches in the United States with over 500 nisei enrolled. The church met not only the religious but also the social and recreational needs of the increasing number of nisei. Various nisei clubs met at the church and the church gymnasium was an active community center.

Other Japanese Christian Mission churches included Highland Park United Methodist Church, which was organized as the Japanese Methodist Church in 1902 by Reverend Tsuruta; Blaine Memorial United Methodist Church, which was organized in Seattle in 1904 as the Japanese Methodist Church; the Japanese Presbyterian Church of Seattle, which was established in 1907; St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Seattle, which started as St. Peter's Japanese Mission in 1912; Whitney Memorial United Methodist Church, which was established in 1907 as the Tacoma Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church; and the Wapato United Methodist Church, which first held services in 1927 and dedicated its church building in 1935.

The Buddhist churches were important social as well as religious organizations in the Japanese American community.

Buddhist churches were established in all the major Japanese American settlements in Washington. The Seattle Buddhist Church, Betsuin, had its beginnings on November 15, 1901, when the Seattle Young Men's Buddhist Association was organized and a dedication ceremony-service was observed in a rented two-story wooden building located on Main Street in Seattle. The first resident minister was Reverend Gendo Nakai who arrived in May 1902. Because Reverend Nakai was the only Buddhist minister in the area, he ministered to areas as far away as the

Columbia River and the Canadian border including Bellevue, Green Lake, South Park, and White River Valley in the Seattle area; Vashon Island and Bainbridge Island in Puget Sound; Tacoma; Yakima; and Port Blakely; as well as Portland, Oregon. Reverend Nakai established the first Buddhist service center, Howakai, in the White River Valley in 1902. By 1906, the membership had outgrown its first location and a new temple was built and dedicated in 1908. On October 5, 1941, the present church was dedicated.

The Buddhist church served religious as well as other functions. The Seattle Buddhist Church organized English language classes for Japanese immigrants in the city to help them bridge the language barrier. The church served as a surrogate family to Buddhists who had no families by annually conducting on its founding day a memorial service unique to this church, Muen Hoyo, for those of the faith who had died with no immediate relatives in the area to hold memorial services for them. The Seattle Bukkyo Fujinkai (Buddhist Women's Association) was started in 1908. The church took a leadership role in organizing youth groups with the establishment of the Sunday School Department in 1912, the Lotus Young Buddhist Association (YBA) in 1922, the formation of Boy Scout Troop #52 in 1932 and a Camp Fire Girls unit in 1934. The annual Obon Festival-Bazaar in July has become one of the featured summer events in Seattle with over 100,000 people participating in the Betsuin Bon Dance.

Other Buddhist churches include the White River Buddhist Church in Auburn established by Reverend Kozen Morita in October 1912, the Tacoma Buddhist Church started in 1915 in a small rented room in the Hiroshima Hotel, the Yakima Buddhist Church dedicated in 1930 in Wapato, and the Spokane Buddhist Church established in 1946.<sup>33</sup> The cultural focal point for the state's Japanese community was the Nippon Kan in the International District of Seattle at Yesler and Seventh Avenue. Constructed in 1909, the Nippon Kan functioned as a center for the Japanese community with the upper floors used as a hotel, other areas for offices and meeting rooms, and the main area as a theater. The Nippon Kan hosted plays, dances, puppet shows, musical performances, martial arts, and other forms of entertainment by local performers as well as performers from Japan. The hall was also used for public meetings to discuss community issues and for religious education.

Baseball seems to have been one of the most important recreational activities of the Japanese. Japanese immigrants organized their own teams. In Seattle these teams played in both their own ethnic league and with the city leagues. The mutual love of baseball was one element that bound the immigrant generation and the American-born generation, as immigrant fathers could coach and publicly cheer their sons playing on the baseball diamond. On the baseball diamond, Japanese Americans could at last compete equally without discriminatory restrictions. For many Japanese families, Sundays were devoted to watching Japanese American baseball teams play. In fact, the biggest social gathering of the year for the Japanese American community of the Pacific Northwest was its annual Japanese Northwest Fourth of July Baseball Tournament. Thousands gathered each year from all over Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.

## Filipino American Community

For Filipino Americans, discrimination and oppression led to organization and community growth. Though condemned to largely bachelor's lives, members of the Filipino community created an extended family system wherein single Filipino men were adopted as "uncles" into existing families presided over by Filipino women who functioned as surrogate mothers, sisters, and aunts to those men. As "uncles," the single men could share in the warmth of family life with children and share in the family celebrations. During the Depression and other hard times, Filipinos survived because of a willingness of other Filipinos to share their lodging and food with another countryman.<sup>34</sup>

Organization is the key word characterizing Filipino community development. Realizing that more could be accomplished through collective action, Filipinos organized a union to improve cannery working conditions and community organizations to promote their interests in Washington. Exploitative conditions in the cannery system led Filipino cannery workers to organize the Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union Local 18257 on June 19, 1933, in Seattle. Its headquarters was at Fifth Avenue and Main Street in Seattle. Chartered by the American Federation of Labor, the union brought an end to the labor contractor system. Seattle remains the general headquarters of the union, now known as Local 37 of the ILWU, and located (at 2800 First Avenue) in Seattle. The pioneer Alaskeros, Filipino laborers in the Alaska salmon canneries, were characterized by Filipino American scholar Peter Bacho as proud, defiant, and tough.<sup>35</sup>

Filipino community organizations often were successful in fighting off exclusionary legislation. One of the most successful undertakings was the Seattle Filipino community's efforts to establish their right to own land in Washington. In 1939, Pio DeCano, a Filipino immigrant, challenged the 1937 amendment to the anti-alien land law that had sought to include Filipinos within the definition of alien. He purchased a tract of land in Seattle to be used as the future site of a Filipino clubhouse, but his purchase was immediately contested by the State Attorney General. Through the united efforts of Filipinos across Washington, DeCano was able to successfully fight his case to the State Supreme Court, which ruled in his favor in 1941. But it was not until October 1, 1965, after long years of fundraising and planning that the Filipino Community of Seattle, Inc., was able to realize its dream of a establishing a community center 36 with the purchase of a building on Empire Way South.<sup>36</sup>

Similar efforts were made by the Filipino community in the Yakima Valley to secure leasing rights on the Yakima Indian Reservation. Though Filipinos were not allowed to directly lease reservation land before World War II, they were able to farm through labor agreements with Indian allottees. Farming was seen by Filipinos as a means of creating jobs for themselves in the poor economy of the Depression. But as Filipinos began to leave their migrant labor status and become independent reservation farmers, they came into direct competition with white farmers who sought to exclude Filipinos from leasing rights on the reservation. After the passage of the 1937 amended alien land law there was a crackdown on Filipino reservation farmers. In response, 100 Filipinos organized as the Filipino Community of Yakima Valley, Inc., in Wapato, and conducted a 1937 campaign to settle the issue of their legal status and rights. They circulated petitions, sought the support of labor unions and civic groups, wrote to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, to the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, to President Quezon of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, to the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines and other officials, and worked out an agreement with the Yakima Tribal Council. Finally in 1942, due to their determined efforts, the Yakima Valley Filipinos secured leasing rights on the reservation and assured themselves a permanent home in the Yakima Valley.

Filipino farmers in the Yakima Valley gradually increased their acres of cultivated land and by 1952 were farming over four thousand acres with an annual income of \$750,000. A new cooperative, the Philippine Produce Co., Inc., was formed in the fall of 1943 to improve the economic stability of farmers through proper marketing of their goods. Committed to making their homes in the Yakima Valley, the Filipino community spent 10 years building a permanent community center in the city of Wapato. The Yakima Filipino Community Center, which opened in 1952, stands as a proud "symbol of the cooperation, the loyalty and the determination of a community which has refused to quit in the face of adversity."<sup>37</sup>

Historian Fred Cordova has noted that Filipino organizations "served as surrogate families for many of their members who had no immediate families at all."<sup>38</sup> These organizations unified the Filipino community. One of the chief functions of these organizations was to organize community celebrations such as Rizal Day, which was an important commemoration of the 1896 execution by Spain of Jose Rizal, a Philippine national hero-martyr. The Filipino Community of Seattle, Incorporated, which serves as an umbrella organization of various Filipino groups in Seattle, had its origins in 1927 when a committee was formed to organize Rizal Day activities for the Filipino community. In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth Council of Seattle coordinated the celebration of the inauguration of Philippine Commonwealth government on November 15, 1935.<sup>39</sup> These celebrations continued annually until independence on July 4, 1946. Such celebrations brought the Filipino community together and promoted unity. Other social activities sponsored by the various Filipino community organizations included benefit dances, banquets and balls, and beauty queen contests. Fundraising was often the most important feature of all these activities. Through such events funds were raised, not only to sponsor social activities, but also to purchase or build community centers and establish scholarships for the Filipino American youth.

Most Filipinos were Catholics and the Our Lady Queen of Martyrs Church in Seattle was established by the Maryknoll order specifically to minister to Filipino Catholics. In 1938 the Filipino Catholic cleric Monsignor Pedro Monleon was assigned to Seattle's Maryknoll parish as an associate. The church served a social as well as religious function through its role in weddings, baptisms, and funerals.<sup>40</sup>

## Seattle

By the 1930s the bulk of the Asian American community in Seattle lived in the area now called the International District, though some Asians had begun to move into the Yesler Hill and Beacon Hill areas after 1920. Chinatown centered on King Street and the Japanese section, Nihonmachi, centered on South Main Street and Sixth Avenue. Landlords would not rent to Asian Americans outside the district and restrictive covenant practices, which were legal until 1948, further limited the residential mobility of Asian Americans. Most Seattle real estate agreements specified that the owners in districts such as Ballard, Lake Washington, Magnolia, and Broadmoor could not sell their property to nonwhites. First Hill and Beacon Hill were not covered by such restrictive covenants and became the first areas in Seattle where Asian Americans were able to buy homes outside of the International District. Movement out of the International District accelerated after World War II.<sup>41</sup>

## The Arts

The cultural life of these communities was stimulated by significant writers and artists who were able to express the collective experience of these groups. In particular, the writings of Sui Sin Far, Carlos Bulosan, and Monica Sone give glimpses into the lives of their ethnic communities in the years before World War II. The art world of Washington State was greatly enriched by Asian American artists. Dr. Kyo Koike, Frank Kunishige, and other photographers of Japanese ancestry of the Seattle Camera Club received international recognition for their work in the 1920s and 1930s. Japanese American painters in the 1930s such as Kakuichi Fujii, Kenjiro Nomura, and Kamekichi Tokita, and members of the Chinese Art Club like Fay Chong and Andrew Chinn contributed their aesthetic sense to the art world of Washington. Asian American artists like George Tsutakawa, internationally known for his fountain sculptures, Paul

Horiuchi, known for his collages made of Japanese handmade papers with Japanese calligraphy, Roger Shimomura, who is especially known for his mock ukiyoe style graphic paintings, and Val Laigo, known for his strongly religious-influenced paintings, continue this Asian American art tradition today.<sup>42</sup> Internationally renowned architect Minoru Yamasaki designed the Federal Science Pavilion for the Seattle Century Twenty-One Exposition and the World Trade Center in New York City. Music, too, was important to the cultural life of the community, from traditional Chinese opera to Japanese koto and shamisen, to the Filipino group the "Moonlight Serenaders" of Seattle in the 1930s, to the modern jazz pianist Deems Tsutakawa of Seattle.

On the eve of World War II there seemed to be great hope that perhaps these communities had achieved some level of permanence. The U.S.-born children of the early immigrants grew up as Americans in Washington State and their parents took special pride in the achievements of their children, whose success rectified past and present injustices. The hopes and aspirations of the immigrants rested in the future of their American children.

## WORLD WAR II

World War II proved to be a turning point for Asian American communities in Washington. For Japanese Americans, World War II was a time of incarceration and near destruction of their ethnic community; for other Asian groups it was a time of improving legal status.

With the outbreak of World War II on December 7, 1941, Japanese immigrants in Washington, who had been denied the right of naturalization, became enemy aliens. After the outbreak of war with Japan they were viewed with great suspicion. They and their citizen children were subject to a myriad of restrictions and with the issuing of Executive Order 9066 by President Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, they were all forcibly rounded up, removed from their homes and interned in inland concentration camps in California, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and Arkansas. In Washington State, the removal order affected Japanese Americans living west of the Columbia River. Those Japanese Americans who lived east of the Columbia River such as in Pasco, Spokane, Walla Walla or Pullman were not removed though they were subject to other restrictions.

The removal started with Bainbridge Island Japanese Americans on March 30, 1942. They were sent to Manzanar in California. The other Japanese Americans in Washington State subject to the removal orders were at first sent to assembly centers at Puyallup Fairgrounds (Camp Harmony), Portland, and Camp Pinedale near Fresno, California. A sculpture by George Tsutakawa in the Puyallup Fairground parking lot commemorates this episode. Most Seattle Japanese Americans were then sent to the inland concentration camp Minidoka in Idaho, though some were sent at first to Tule Lake in northern California. Yakima Valley Japanese Americans were sent to Heart Mountain, Wyoming. Two-thirds of those interned were U.S. citizens.

Though the United States was also at war with Germany and Italy, German Americans and Italian Americans were not rounded up and interned en masse, nor were German and Italian aliens who were also enemy aliens subject to incarceration. Clearly the difference in treatment was based on race. The internment of Japanese Americans in World War II marked the culmination of a century of a racist policy of discrimination and exclusion of Asians in Washington. Always considered foreign because of their race, even the American-born, second-generation Japanese American, the nisei, were interned in inland concentration camps during the war along with the immigrant first generation, the issei.

It has been argued that Japanese Americans were interned for their own protection, but there were few if any acts of violence against Japanese Americans even in the immediate months after Pearl Harbor when war hysteria was highest. Others claim that internment was a military necessity, that there was no time to determine who were loyal and who were not. Gordon Hirabayashi, a University of Washington student who contested the curfew and evacuation orders, was convicted of resisting internment. His conviction was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court based on the government's claim of military necessity. (There was apparently time to determine the loyalty of German and Italian aliens who were never interned en masse even if there was not for Japanese Americans.) Japanese Americans were never charged with a crime. There are no documented cases of sabotage attributed to Japanese Americans. Moreover, Japanese Americans fought with distinction in the U.S. armed forces in World War II in both the European and Pacific theaters. The 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat team were the most decorated units of their size in American military history. Furthermore, government documents uncovered in 1981 through the Freedom of Information Act revealed that the initial recommendations for mass internment of Japanese Americans were based on racial considerations, and that in later cases argued before the U.S. Supreme Court the government knowingly suppressed, altered, and destroyed evidence proving that there existed no military necessity for the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

On the basis of this uncovered evidence of government duplicity, Gordon Hirabayashi's conviction was overturned in 1987 by the U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit. Although this case and the other test cases of Korematsu and Yasui were finally overturned, the U.S. Supreme Court has not moved to rewrite its World War II decisions. On Halloween Day, October 31, 1988, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the class action suit for reparations in *Hohri v. United States*, the last case in which it could reconsider its wartime decision. However, due to the vigorous

educational campaign by the Japanese American redress movement, the legislative and executive branches of the U. S. government moved to correct this injustice. In 1988 Congress passed and the President signed legislation to apologize and financially compensate Japanese Americans to redress their relocation and internment during World War II.

The Japanese American community suffered incalculable economic loss as a direct result of wartime internment. They lost property, businesses, jobs, and savings. The economic gains of a half a century of work by the immigrant generation was wiped out. After the war the Japanese American community had to start up the economic ladder from the bottom rung again. The immigrant generation already nearing retirement age in 1945 had to begin their lives over again. Many ended their working lives just as they had begun, as day laborers. The psychological losses were perhaps greater than the economic losses, particularly for the second generation Japanese Americans who as citizens believed in the American democratic system. Internment essentially subverted their faith in the system. After the war's end many Japanese Americans returning to Washington were met with hostility. However, the Japanese American community in Washington did survive this ordeal and slowly rebuilt their community.

In contrast, World War II brought some improvements in the lives of other Asian groups. The United States began to change its racist policies against other Asians in the U.S. in response to pressures by the Chinese Nationalist government to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act and in response to Japan's wartime propaganda that pointed out the hypocrisy of America's claims to be fighting for liberty and democracy for Asians abroad while discriminating against Asians in America. After all, Chinese, Filipinos, and South Asians were allies in arms in Asia. In December 1943, Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act establishing a token quota of 105 per year for China and granting naturalization rights to Chinese already residing in the United States. Despite the great symbolic end to a formal policy of total Chinese exclusion, this new law was intricately designed to achieve the same effect. Not only was the inadequate quota of 105 for all of China ridiculous, even insulting, especially in comparison to the quota of 67,721 for whites from Great Britain, but there were other restrictions attached that further limited even this low quota of Chinese immigration. Any person of one-half or more Chinese ancestry was charged to the Chinese quota regardless of place of birth. Thus a British citizen who was by descent half Chinese was counted in the quota for China. Furthermore, Chinese wives and children of U.S. citizens were charged to the 105-person quota for China even though European wives and children of U.S. citizens were considered nonquota immigrants. While the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act represented more of a symbolic than real victory on the legal front, Chinese Americans made economic progress during the war as more job opportunities opened up for them outside of Chinatown, particularly in the aircraft and shipbuilding industries.

The start of World War II dramatically changed the general public's attitudes toward Filipinos. News of the defense of the Philippines by Filipino and American troops fighting side-by-side against the Japanese enemy in the Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor in Manila Bay changed American perceptions of Filipinos. Against the enemy Japanese, Filipinos were viewed as allies in arms. Most young Filipino men joined the armed forces, serving especially in the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments. As a result of their courageous and loyal service, they were granted the opportunity to become naturalized citizens. On the home front they were able to get jobs previously closed to them. Of major importance, Filipinos finally acquired the right to possess land in Washington. In February 1941, in the Pio DeCano case, the Washington State Supreme Court had ruled unconstitutional the 1937 amendment to the alien land law that extended the definition of alien to include Filipinos as noncitizens. Just before war broke out, the legislature was poised to quickly pass a bill to amend the title of the 1937 Act since the court had merely ruled that the technicality of an incorrect titling had nullified the law, not the intent and effect of the law. Given the wartime change in American attitudes toward Filipino brothers in arms, no legislation to correct the title of the 1937 Act was passed and the alien land law was thus not applicable to Filipinos. Furthermore, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs finally issued a ruling in January 1942, allowing Filipinos to lease land on the Yakima Indian Reservation.

## POSTWAR ERA

The postwar era has brought further changes. Changes in immigration and naturalization laws and the legacy of the Vietnam War have greatly increased the numbers and changed the composition of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington.

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, Congress passed several more pieces of legislation that further helped to end Asian exclusion. In 1946 Congress sought to remedy some of the inequities of the 1943 act to repeal Chinese exclusion by allowing Chinese wives of American citizens to enter on a nonquota basis. Congress also granted Filipinos the right of naturalization. South Asians were granted naturalization rights and natives of India were given a quota of 100 per year with husbands, wives, and children of American citizens entering on a nonquota basis. Thus, Congress finally legislatively reversed the 1923 Third decision and removed India from the barred zone. Starting in December 1945, Congress also passed measures to accommodate the immigration of wives of American servicemen serving abroad. In particular, the Act of August 19, 1950, made spouses and minor children of members of the American armed forces, regardless of their race, eligible for immigration on a nonquota basis if marriage occurred

prior to March 19, 1952. Then, from 1948 to 1959, Congress passed several emergency and temporary laws to permit certain numbers and types of displaced persons, refugees, escapees, orphans, and relatives to be admitted to the United States and allowed an adjustment in status to that of permanent resident for students, visitors, and skilled aliens who were not able to return to their own country for fear of persecution. As a result of these measures, Asian war brides and particularly Chinese refugees and displaced persons were able to have their status adjusted to permanent resident or were allowed to enter the United States.

In 1952, Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act, which eliminated race as a bar to immigration and naturalization. Known as the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, this law ended the total exclusion of Asian immigration to the United States by giving every country a quota and making all races eligible for naturalization. However, this act still perpetuated a discriminatory barrier to Asian immigration by giving only a token quota to Asian countries. China still had a quota of 105. Japan had a quota of 185 and most Asian countries had a quota of 100. Moreover, aliens with at least 50 percent Asian ancestry were still charged to the country of ancestry regardless of where they were born or lived. Yet, despite these severe limitations, 1952 marked an end to the era of total Asian exclusion. With the granting of nonquota immigrant status to wives and close relatives of U.S. citizens, there was a slow growth in Asian population as Asian Americans sent for relatives.

Korean students comprised most of the Korean community in Seattle in the 1950s, although there were also increasing numbers of Korean wives of Americans and Korean adopted children entering Washington after the Korean Conflict ended in 1953. A great increase in numbers of Koreans immigrating to Washington came after 1965. There was a steady increase in numbers of Pacific Islanders from Guam and American Samoa with the granting of full citizenship rights to Guam in 1951 and the moving of the U.S. naval base from Pago Pago in Samoa to Hawaii in 1951. Subsequently, many Guamanians and Samoans sought better paying jobs in the mainland United States. Enlistment in the U.S. armed forces was the easiest route for many to obtain better economic opportunities. Particularly in Samoa, the loss of the military base and its attendant jobs along with a severe drought led many Samoans to come to Washington State looking for a better education or as enlistees in the armed forces. Most Samoans in Seattle are U.S. nationals from American Samoa, which is a U.S. trust territory. Christian churches and a council of chiefs have played an important role in the Samoan community. Washington State has the nation's third largest concentration of Samoans after California and Hawaii.

The most dramatic changes in Asian American population growth and composition came with the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which gave equal quotas to all countries and favored immigration from the professional classes. From July 1, 1968, when the law took effect, each independent country outside of the Western Hemisphere was granted a quota of up to 20,000 per year, with an alien's quota chargeable to the country of his birth. The law exempted from the quota immediate relatives of American citizens including minor children, spouses, and parents. Within the limits of the quota, preference was given to other relatives of American citizens and to workers with skills deemed necessary to the American economy.

As a result of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, there was a sharp increase in Asian immigration leading to a rapid increase in the Asian American population. Asian Americans are the fastest-growing ethnic population in the United States. The Asian/Pacific American population doubled from 1970 to 1980 and again from 1980 to 1990. The largest numbers of Asians immigrating to the United States now are Filipinos and Koreans. To these can be added growing immigration of Chinese and South Asians. This newest wave of immigration is composed of relatives of U.S. citizens and a high percentage of the educated, professionals and businessmen since immigration laws give preference to this class. Because of the years of exclusion and low immigration quotas, there is a tremendously long waiting list of Asian immigrants wanting to enter the United States. The backlog of Asian applicants for immigration increases with each passing year.

The Asian/Pacific American population also was greatly affected by the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War generated a new wave of immigrants from Southeast Asia who entered the United States as refugees. This has led to great numbers of Southeast Asians settling in Washington. A massive evacuation of Vietnamese took place in the last weeks before the war ended in 1975 with the collapse of the Saigon regime. Washington State officially sponsored the first group of Vietnamese from their evacuation holding station in Guam and this group formed the core Vietnamese community in Washington, which includes a mixture of Vietnamese; Hoa, who are ethnic Chinese from Vietnam; and Cham, who are Moslems from Vietnam and Cambodia. Cambodians who had close ties to the United States as former government officials and civilian and military employees of the United States also began to settle in Washington in 1975 with the fall of Phnom Penh to the Khmer Rouge. Numbers of Laotians also began to arrive in 1975 including the Hmong, Lao and other tribal groups from this ethnically diverse country. This was followed by further waves of Southeast Asian refugees created by the new government policies in their countries. The crackdown on ethnic Chinese in Vietnam after 1975 led to an outpouring of Hoa "boat people" in 1979 and 1980. Because of their past close military association with the United States, Laotians had to flee the increasing dominance of the North Vietnamese. By 1980, Cambodians fled in increasing numbers from the atrocities of the Pol Pot regime.

Each Southeast Asian refugee has a compelling story of immigration and settlement in Washington. Their uprooting and flight was filled with death and suffering. They frequently grieve for the deaths of loved ones and constantly worry about relatives and friends left back in their war-torn countries. The traumas of war have been exacerbated by loss of country, family, culture, language, job, status and respect. Many find it difficult to find employment, security and identity in America. Most of the problems of resettlement are intensified by language differences. Dropped suddenly into a new culture requiring communication in a new language, older immigrants find it difficult to acquire quickly the necessary language skills to pass job interviews successfully and even more difficult to maintain good working relations with coworkers after obtaining a job. More adaptable young children often become intermediaries for adults as the young more quickly learn the English language at school.

Southeast Asians have inherited the legacy of anti-Asian exclusion history. Instead of peace and freedom they find themselves targets of physical violence, hate, and discrimination. Entering the United States in a time of economic recession, they are perceived by some as foreigners competing for American jobs or as easy scapegoats on which the frustrations of thwarted hopes and aspirations can be vented. However, Southeast Asians are building a valued place for themselves in Washington's multicultural community through hard work and perseverance.

## ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN COMMUNITY

From the early 1970s, as a matter of political expedience, a political coalition of Asian/Pacific Americans has emerged who realize that they must be united to have their voices heard and to have their needs and perspectives addressed. In this period, these community activists and organizations began to call themselves Asian/Pacific Americans (APAs). Asian/Pacific American political caucuses have been organized to gain recognition of and action on issues of concern to the Asian/Pacific American community. This community worked for the establishment of the Commission on Asian American Affairs in the governor's office and has worked to elect local, state, and national candidates for political office sensitive to these issues. Qualified Asian/Pacific American candidates have been identified and backed for elected and appointed offices. In particular the Seattle area has produced bright Asian/Pacific American candidates that have widespread support within the diverse Asian/Pacific American community as well as in the larger community. From the early Asian/Pacific American candidates such as Wing Luke, elected to the Seattle City Council in 1960, to Ruby Chow who served on the Seattle City Council from 1973 to 1985, there was an increase in Asian American politicians from 1979 to include Dolores Sibonga and Cheryl Chow on the Seattle City Council, Lloyd Hara, Seattle City Treasurer, and Gary Locke and Art Wang in the State Legislature.

Political empowerment is not the only reason for a growing awareness of Asian/Pacific American identity in Washington. There is also the recognition of the commonality of discriminatory treatment that binds their histories in America. Out of the civil rights movement and social activism of the 1960s and 1970s and the domestic and international turmoil resulting from the Vietnam War emerged a movement to recognize and promote Asian/Pacific American history and culture. Asian American studies was recognized as an academic field in universities across the nation as there arose an awareness of the importance of studying and valuing the diversity of America in order to understand fully the multicultural nature of America. The University of Washington Asian American Studies Program and the Washington State University Asian/Pacific American Studies Program were established in the 1970s through pressure from the Asian/Pacific American community. Finally, American history became inclusive rather than exclusive and American literature studies have been enriched by the voices of the likes of Sui Sin Far, John Okada, and Carlos Bulosan. The canon of American literature continues to be enriched by the voices of Washington Asian American writers and poets like Lauren Mar, Alan Chong Lau, Mitsuye Yamada, James Mitsui, Alex Kuo, Lonny Kaneko, and Shawn Wong.

The Asian/Pacific American community continues to grow with the state of Washington and its diversity increases each day. The community is not cohesive and deep schisms divide groups. There are splits along political lines between Chinese Americans supporting Taiwan versus the Peoples Republic of China, between Filipinos supporting Marcos versus Aquino, and Koreans supporting the current regime versus reform elements. The numbers of new immigrants from Asia since 1968 have changed the composition from two-thirds native-born population in 1960 to a majority foreign-born in 1990. Immigration legislation and the English Only movement are issues of vital concern to the Asian/Pacific American community due to this change in composition. Tensions exist between the American-born and the new immigrants, who often have differing world views.

Yet out of these differences a new and vital Asian/Pacific American community is being forged in Washington State. Symbolic of this new unity and vitality is the rejuvenation of the International District in Seattle. Unlike other major West Coast cities, Seattle does not have a separate Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Little Manila, Koreatown, or Little Saigon. Through interethnic cooperation the International District has been saved from destruction and revitalized itself as the focal point of ethnic identity for Asian/Pacific Americans. Besides ethnic restaurants and stores like Uwajimaya, the International District houses the culturally important Nippon Kan, Wing Luke Asian Museum, and the Northwest Asian American Theatre.<sup>43</sup> The future of these peoples is rooted in a deeper understanding of their past.



This historical overview was based on a previous study by Gail M. Nomura, "Washington's Asian/Pacific American Communities," in Sid White and S.E. Solberg, *Peoples of Washington Perspectives on Cultural Diversity* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1989), 113-155.

## NOTES

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## **SECTION 2—ASIAN AMERICANS: CONCEPTS, STRATEGIES, AND MATERIALS**

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Professor Banks has received fellowships from the National Academy of Education, the Kellogg Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1986, he was named a Distinguished Scholar/Researcher on Minority Education by the American Educational Research Association (AERA). In 1994, he received the AERA *Research Review Award*. A past president of the National Council for the Social Studies, he received an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters (L.H.D.) from the Bank Street College of Education in 1993. He is the recipient of the *Senior Career Scholar/Researcher Award for 1996* given by the Committee on the Role and Status on Minorities in Educational Research and Development of the American Educational Research Association (AERA).

## **CHAPTER 13: ASIAN AMERICANS—CONCEPTS, STRATEGIES, AND MATERIALS**

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In America, Asian immigrants and their offspring have been actors in history.... Their dreams and hopes unfurled here before the wind, all of them—from the first Chinese miners sailing through the Golden Gate to the last Vietnamese boat people flying into Los Angeles International Airport—have been making history in America.

Ronald Takaki

This chapter consists of content, concepts, teaching strategies, and materials for teaching about three of the oldest Asian groups in the United States—the Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Filipino Americans.

Asian Americans, one of the most diverse and interesting ethnic groups in the United States, are rarely studied in the elementary and high school grades. When discussed in textbooks and in the popular media, they are often used to illustrate how an ethnic group of color can succeed in the United States. Because of their tremendous educational, occupational, and economic success, Asian Americans are often called the model minority in the popular media. It is true that some Asian American groups are better educated, have a higher occupational status, and earn more money than other Americans, including White Americans. However, the model minority concept is problematic for several reasons.

### PROBLEMS WITH THE MODEL MINORITY CONCEPT

A focus on the economic success of Asian Americans results in several problems. It obscures the tremendous economic diversity within Asian American communities and the problems Asians have. When we look only at the group characteristics of Chinese Americans, for example, the serious economic problems of the new immigrants are overlooked. In 1990, about 42% of the Chinese immigrants had menial service, low-skilled, and blue-collar jobs. About 52% had managerial and technical jobs (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993a). Takaki (1989) has called the unskilled Chinese immigrant workers “a colonized labor force” (1989, p. 425). Many Chinese immigrant women work as seamstresses in San Francisco and in New York for long hours at very low wages. The model minority concept also obscures the stories of successful members of other ethnic groups, such as upwardly mobile African Americans and Hispanics. Finally, when overly emphasized, the model minority argument can divert attention from the racism that Asian Americans and other people of color in the United States still experience (Takaki, 1989). Daniels (1988) states that diverting attention from racism was one intent of William Petersen (1966), the writer who first used the concept of *the model minority* in a *New York Times Magazine* article.

## RAPID INCREASES IN THE ASIAN AMERICAN POPULATION

Asian Americans, in percentage terms, increased faster than any other U.S. ethnic group between 1980 and 1990. The number of Asians in the United States increased from 3,466,847 in 1980 to 6,908,638 in 1990, a 99% increase, compared to a 53% increase for Hispanics and a 7% increase for the non-Hispanic population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). The number of Asians immigrating to the United States has increased substantially since the Immigration Reform Act became effective in 1968. Five Asian nations—Vietnam, the Philippines, Mainland China, India, and Korea—were among the top fifteen nations from which immigrants came to the United States in 1992 (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1993). The number of immigrants entering the United States from Vietnam (77,735) was exceeded only by Mexico (213,802). Immigrants of Asian origin from these five nations were among the largest groups entering the United States between 1981 and 1992 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993a) (see Table 13-1).

The United States now has a sizable population of Vietnamese Americans (615,000 in 1990). After U.S. participation in the Vietnam War ended (1973) and Communists took control of that nation (1975), thousands of Vietnamese refugees rushed to the United States. Only 226 Vietnamese immigrated to the United States in 1965, but more than 87,000 came to the United States in 1978. Between 1981 and 1992, 534,400 Vietnamese immigrants settled in the United States (see Table 13-1).

The number of Chinese immigrants settling in the United States from China and Hong Kong has also increased substantially since 1965. In 1965, for example, 4,769 immigrants from China settled in the United States. Between 1981 and 1992, however 490,300 immigrants entered the United States from China and 83,900 from Hong Kong (see Table 13-1) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994).

**TABLE 13-1 ASIAN IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES (1961—1992)**

Country of Birth	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1992	Total
Cambodia [Kampuchea]	1,200	8,400	122,500	132,100
China	96,700	202,500	490,300	789,500
Hong Kong	25,600	47,500	83,900	157,000
India	31,200	176,800	343,600	551,600
Japan	38,500	47,900	59,200	145,600
Korea	35,800	272,000	360,700	668,500
Laos	100	22,600	164,300	187,000
Pakistan	4,900	31,200	91,900	128,000
Philippines	101,500	360,200	619,900	1,081,600
Thailand	5,000	44,100	78,900	128,000
Vietnam	4,600	179,700	534,400	718,700

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1994). Statistical Abstract of the United States. (114th ed). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

## KOREAN AMERICANS

The number of Koreans and Asian Indian immigrants to the United States has also increased tremendously since the Immigration Act of 1965 became effective in 1968. The Korean American population increased from 10,000 in 1960 to about one-half million in 1985 (Takaki, 1989). The first Koreans who came to the United States arrived in 1885. Later, between 1890 and 1905, 64 Korean students came to study in the United States (Kim, 1980). A significant number of Koreans were recruited to work in the sugar plantations in Hawaii in the early 1900s. However few Korean immigrants settled in the United States until the 1970s. Only 6,231 Koreans immigrated to the United States between 1951 and 1960 and 34,526 between 1961 and 1970 (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services, 1985). However, 360,700 immigrated to the United States between 1981 and 1992.

Korean Americans are one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States today. Koreans are one of the largest immigrant groups settling in the United States. Like the new immigrants from the Philippines, many of the new Korean immigrants are college-educated professionals. In 1990, immigrants from Korea had one of the highest percentage of its population that had a bachelor's degree or higher, 34.4%, compared to 23.1% for immigrants from the United Kingdom, 19.1% for immigrants from Germany, and 43% for immigrants from the Philippines (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993a).

## ASIAN INDIAN AND PAKISTANI IMMIGRANTS

Only a small number of immigrants from India settled in the United States prior to 1965. A total of about 130,000 came during the period between 1820 and 1976 (Takaki, 1989). Most of the immigrants who came during the nineteenth century were professionals, adventurers, merchants, and monks (Jensen, 1980). A few thousand agricultural workers came to California between 1904 and 1923. Only 1,973 immigrants from India came to the United States between

1951 and 1960; 31,200 immigrated to United States between 1961 and 1979 (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services, 1985).

Since 1971, immigrants from India have been entering the United States in substantial numbers. About 343,600 Indian immigrants settled in the United States between 1981 and 1992. A significant number of immigrants to the United States from Pakistan have also entered the United States since 1960. About 91,900 Pakistani immigrants settled in the United States between 1981 and 1992.

There were about 815,000 Asian Indians living in the United States in 1990. Large numbers were concentrated in Northeastern states including New Hampshire (79,440) and Massachusetts (23,845). However, they were spread throughout the United States: for example, 159,973 lived in California, and 20,848 lived in Ohio (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). These Asian Indians are English speaking and are a highly educated group. Among the immigrants are a large number of engineers, scientists, physicians, dentists, and other professionals. Like the new Filipino immigrants, they are settling in the United States primarily because of the paucity of professional job opportunities in their native land.

## SOUTHEAST ASIAN AMERICANS

The Southeast Asians who have settled in the United States have come from three contiguous nations—Vietnam, Kampuchea (Cambodia), and Laos. The Europeans referred to this area as Indochina because it had been historically influenced by India and China. The Southeast Asians Americans consist of Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian (Kumpuchean), Hmong, and ethnic Chinese refugees who fled to the United States in the aftermath of the Vietnam War. In the decade before 1975, only about 20,000 Vietnamese immigrated to the United States (Wright, 1989). It is not known how many immigrants came from Laos and Kampuchea (Cambodia) during this period. The first refugees from Southeast Asia fled to the United States in 1975. Their journey to the United States was directly related to the ending of the Vietnam War and the resulting communist governments in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

The Southeast Asians, like the Cuban refugees from 1959 to 1962, sought refuge in the United States when communist governments came to power in their homelands. A large number of Southeast Asian refugees were resettled in the United States between mid-May 1975 and December 31, 1978. This was one of the largest emergency resettlement programs in the nation's history.

The number of Vietnamese, Laotians, and Kampuchean in the United States grew significantly between 1981 and 1992. Vietnam was one of the ten nations that sent the most legal immigrants to the United States during this period. Nearly one million (821,200) immigrants from Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea settled in the United States between 1981 and 1992 (see Table 13-1). Most of these immigrants (65%) came from Vietnam.

The Vietnamese population in the United States is one of the nation's fastest growing populations. There were about 245,025 Vietnamese living in the United States in 1970 and 615,000 in 1990, a 60% increase within this twenty-year period. A number of developments have contributed to the rapid growth in the Indochinese population in the United States. Indochinese refugees continued to come to the United States from refugee camps in Southeast Asia between 1981 and 1989. Many Vietnamese, including Amerasian children (children of American fathers and Vietnamese mothers) and their close relatives have been permitted to immigrate to the United States by federal policies designed to facilitate family reunification. About 10,000 Amerasian children were scheduled for resettlement in the United States in 1989.

The Southeast Asians came to the United States for many different reasons. Singular political, economic, or personal concerns motivated some of the refugees to leave their homelands. Others were motivated by many factors. Many of the Southeast Asian refugees had been directly touched by the trauma of the Vietnam War (1954-1975) or its aftermath. The Southeast Asians left their nations as refugees and are now in the process of becoming Americans.

## ASIAN AMERICANS: A DIVERSE GROUP

Asian Americans are one of the most highly diversified ethnic groups in the United States. They vary greatly in both cultural and physical characteristics. The attitudes, values, and ethnic institutions often differ within Japanese American, Chinese American, Filipino American, and Asian Indian communities. However, the first waves of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants had some parallel experiences in the United States. For example, their immigration began when there was a need for cheap labor, but they were harassed and demeaned, and eventually immigration laws were passed to exclude them. After the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, there was still a desire for cheap laborers in Hawaii and California. Consequently, Japanese immigrants began arriving in California in significant numbers in the 1890s. When the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 and the Immigration Act of 1924 halted Japanese immigration, California farmers imported Filipinos from Hawaii and the Philippines to work in the fields. Anti-Filipino forces emerged on the West Coast and culminated in 1934, when Congress limited Filipino immigration to fifty people per year. This quota constituted, in effect, the virtual exclusion of Filipino immigrants.

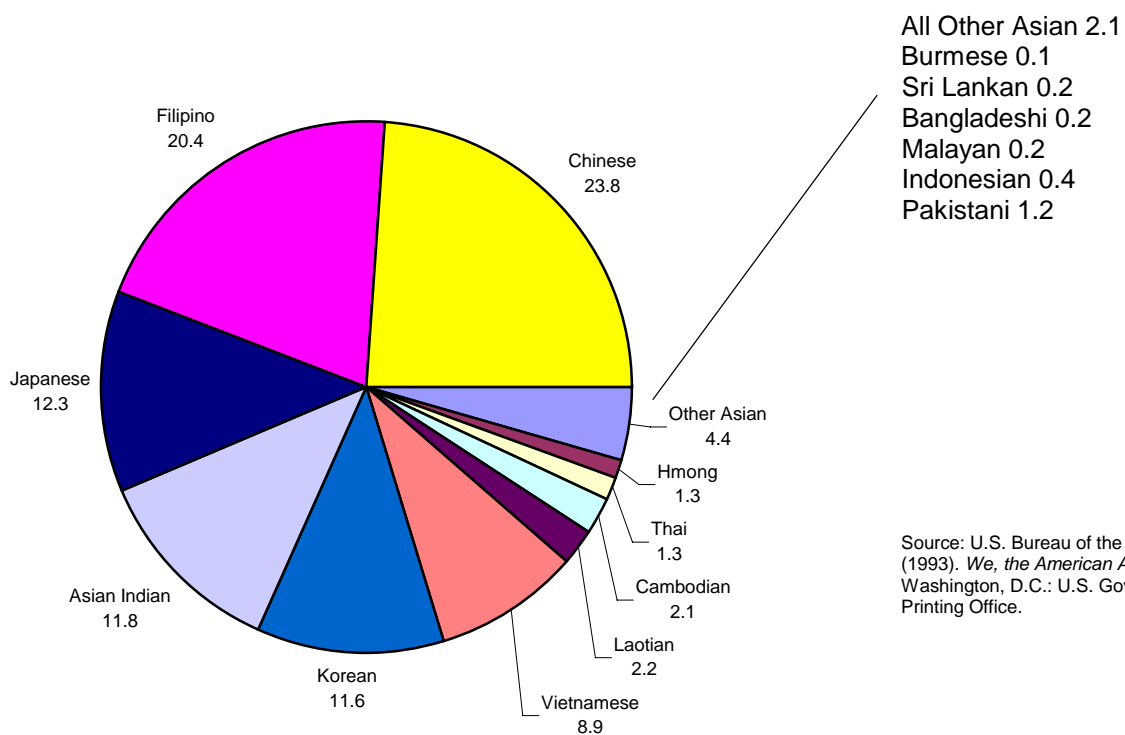
Because of their tremendous diversity, similarities, and unique experiences in the United States, the study of Asian Americans can help students increase their ethnic literacy and develop a respect for cultural differences. Figure 13-1 shows the percentage distribution of the Asian American population for selected groups in 1990. Tables 13-2 and 13-3 show selected characteristics and the 1990 U.S. population of Asian Americans groups.

### THE CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND FILIPINO AMERICANS: OVERVIEW

This section of this chapter discusses content, concepts, strategies, and materials for teaching about three Asian American groups that live in the United States: the Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Filipino Americans. These groups have important similarities, as well as differences. Each group came to the United States seeking the American dream, satisfied important labor needs, and became victims of an anti-Asian movement designed to prevent their further immigration to the United States. Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Filipino Americans have also experienced tremendous economic, educational, and social mobility and success in U.S. society.

The number of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants that settled in the United States between 1951 and 1960 was small compared to the number from Europe. However, the number of immigrants to the United States from China and the Philippines has increased enormously since the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 became effective in 1968. The number of Japanese immigrating to the United States since 1968 has remained moderate. Between 1951 and 1960, 19,300 immigrants from the Philippines and 25,200 from China and Hong Kong settled in the United States. Between 1981 and 1992 the numbers were 619,900 from the Philippines, 83,900 from Hong Kong, and 490,300 from China (see Table 13-1).

**FIGURE 13-1 ASIAN AMERICAN POPULATION FOR SELECTED GROUPS: 1990**



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1993). *We, the American Asians*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

As a result of the increasing number of immigrants from China, Hong Kong, and the Philippines, as well as from other Asian nations, the Japanese are becoming an increasingly smaller percentage of the Asian American population. In 1970, Japanese Americans were the largest Asian American group, followed by the Chinese and the Filipinos. By 1990, however, the Japanese were the third largest Asian American group, exceeded in size by both the Chinese, the largest group, and the Filipinos, the second largest group (see Table 13-3).

**TABLE 13.2 SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JAPANESE, CHINESE, AND FILIPINO POPULATIONS: 1980 AND 1990**

	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Non-Spanish Whites	African Americans	All Persons
Population 1980	812,178	716,331	781,894	180,602,838	26,091,857	226,545,805
Population 1990	1,645,000	848,000	1,407,000	190,802,000	30,316,000	255,082,000
Median Household Income 1990	\$36,259	\$41,626	\$43,780	\$32,960**	\$21,232**	\$29,943***
Median Family Income	\$41,316	\$51,550	\$46,698	\$36,915***	\$22,430	\$35,225
Percentage of High School Graduates 1990	73.6%	87.5%	82.6%	79.8%	68.5%	75.2%
Percent with Bachelor's Degree of Higher	35%	28.2%	41.6%	21.5%	11.4%	20.3%

\*1989 figure

\*\*1993 figure

\*\*\*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 174. (1991). *Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States: 1990*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1994), *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (114th ed.). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.**TABLE 13-3 RESIDENT POPULATION OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN 1990**

Group	Population
Chinese	1,645,000
Filipino	1,407,000
Japanese	848,000
Asian Indian	815,000
Korean	799,000
Vietnamese	615,000
Laotian	149,000
Cambodian [Kampuchean]	147,000
Thai	91,000
Hmong	90,000
Pakistani	81,000

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1994). *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1994*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 30.

The story of the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in the United States has been largely one of success, if we measure success by the educational, income, and occupational levels these groups have attained. They have attained tremendous educational, income, and occupational success even though they have historically been the victims of racism and discrimination and are often the victims of subtle discrimination today. The stories of the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in the United States can help students understand how the American dream can be pursued and attained. However, when these groups are studied, the problems that Asian Americans still face in U.S. society, such as cultural conflict, identity, and attaining a balance between their ethnic cultures and the mainstream culture, should not be glossed over. The poverty that exists in Asian American communities, especially in urban ethnic communities where newly arrived immigrants settle in large numbers, should also be studied.

When studying about Asians in the United States, students should examine and analyze the new wave of racism that has been directed against Asian Americans, as well as against other ethnic groups of color. This new wave of racism, which emerged in the 1980s, has been expressed in a number of ways, including ugly racial incidents on college campuses. The rising number of Asian students at some of the nation's most prestigious colleges and universities has evoked comments that some Asians have interpreted as a call for restrictive quotas. In 1989, Asian Americans made up about 16% of the students at Stanford, about 25% at the University of California at Berkeley, and about 11% at Harvard (Takaki, 1989).

Many Americans, particularly unemployed auto workers, blame Japan for the stiff competition from Japanese car manufacturers. This hostility has sometimes been directed at Japanese Americans because some Americans do not

distinguish Japanese nationals and Japanese Americans. This hostility has taken diverse forms, including bumper stickers that read, “Unemployment— Made in Japan” and statements such as “Auto unemployment is an economic Pearl Harbor” (Daniels, 1988, p. 342). The most odious incident was the June 19, 1982, beating death in a Detroit suburb of Vincent Chin by an unemployed auto worker, Ronald Ebens, and his stepson, Ebens thought Chin was a Japanese American. Despite their success—and sometimes because of it— Asian Americans are still victims of racism and discrimination. Some Americans still consider Asian Americans “strangers from a different shore” (Takaki, 1989).

## CHINESE AMERICANS

### The Immigration

When the news reached the Guandong Province in southeast China that there was a “Golden Mountain” across the Pacific, a number of young men violated both Chinese law and tradition and headed for the promised land. The decision to leave China for a foreign land was a serious one because it was illegal to immigrate and violators could be severely punished. Also, Confucian doctrine, which was an integral part of Chinese life during this period, taught that a young man should value his family above all else and thus should not leave it. However, both the promises of the land of the Mountain of Gold and the severe living conditions in the Toishan district in Guandong, from which most of the first Chinese immigrants hailed, helped push the young immigrants across the Pacific.

Political upheaval, famine, local warfare, excessive taxes, a severely depressed economy, and a rugged terrain in Toishan that was inimical to farming motivated young Chinese males to seek better opportunities in an unknown land where, according to a pervasive myth, one could easily strike gold and return to China a rich man. Most of the Chinese who headed for California were young married men. They were self-proclaimed “sojourners” who intended to earn their fortunes in the United States and return to their families in China. Because of tradition and the rough voyage across the Pacific, their families were left behind.

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## CHINESE AMERICANS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

### Important Dates

1850	The U.S. Census showed 450 Chinese immigrants in the United States. This number increased to 34,933 in 1860. The California legislature passed a discriminatory Foreign Miner’s Tax, which forced Chinese immigrants to pay a highly disproportionate share of the state taxes.
1859	Authorities in the Guangdong Province legalized the recruitment of Chinese laborers.
1882	The Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted by Congress. It stopped the immigration of Chinese laborers for 10 years.
1974	The U.S. Supreme Court ruled on <i>Lau v. Nichols</i> that the San Francisco Unified School District was denying Chinese American students who did not speak English “a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program.” This ruling by the high court established a legal basis for bilingual educational programs. Such programs were later established in various parts of the nation.
1980	The U.S. Census indicated that the Chinese were one of the largest groups that immigrated to the United States between 1970 and 1980. The percentage of Chinese in the United States increased 88% between 1970 and 1980, compared to 11% for the total population and 6% for Whites.
1982	Vincent Chin was beaten to death in a Detroit suburb by an unemployed auto worker and his stepson, Ronald Ebens, the unemployed auto worker, thought Chin was of Japanese descent.
1992	More than 49,000 immigrants from China and Hong Kong entered the United States, which made the Chinese the second largest Asian group immigrating to the United States. The Filipinos were the largest immigrating Asian group.

The journey across the Pacific was rugged and hazardous. On their arrival in California, the Chinese immigrants experienced a rude awakening. Although White Americans expressed little overt hostility toward the Chinese when they first started immigrating to the West Coast in substantial numbers in the 1850s, they considered them exotic, strange people. Whites thought that the Chinese were strange because of their traditional Chinese clothing, language, queue hairstyle (which Whites called pigtailed), and skin color. Almost from the beginning, the Chinese were the victims of curiosity and racism. Writes Melendy (1972), “From almost the first moment the Chinese landed in San Francisco in the 1850s, they were subjected to harsh treatment. The aim was to exclude them from the United States because of basically racist fears and beliefs” (p. 20) [emphasis added].



## Labor

In addition to receiving a curious and strange welcome from Californians, the Chinese immigrants found that the mines in which they had to dig for gold had already been thoroughly gone over by White gold diggers. They had to dig for the scraps. However, some Chinese immigrants managed to secure respectable sums of money by reminding White claims.

When Congress decided to build a railroad linking the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast in 1862, the Central Pacific issued a call for men to build the western portion of the railroad. Because of the back-breaking work involved in building a railroad over the rugged Western terrain, few Whites would take the work. But the Chinese took up the challenge and almost single-handedly built the Pacific portion of the transcontinental railroad. While the nation celebrated the completion of the railroad on May 10, 1869, 25,000 laborers, most of them Chinese, lost their jobs.

It was not easy for the Chinese immigrants to save money because of the large debts they had incurred when they arranged to come to California. Most of them came to the United States through a credit-ticket system, which was similar to the indenture system used to bring many European immigrants to North America. In this system, a moneyless Chinese man could borrow money from a relative or fellow villager to pay for his passage to California. Chinese organizations, such as the Hui Kuan or Landsmanner, collected the money from the immigrant and sent it to the individuals from whom it was borrowed.

The leaders of the Hui Kuan also provided the immigrants with a place to eat and sleep on their arrival in San Francisco and sent groups of them to work in the mines. Before the worker received his wages, the amount he owed for his passage was deducted. Because of the credit-ticket system, some immigrants ended up worse off financially than they had been before they came to California. Some found that their return to China was indefinitely delayed. What at first promised to be a nation of gold turned out, for many, to be a land of disillusionment and shattered dreams. Writes Melendy (1972), "The Chinese existed at a poverty level, receiving low wages for their work. Even so, they gained materially a bit more than they had in China. The dream of coming to the Golden Mountain to make a fortune and return home still seemed possible to most. For many, however, this was the impossible dream" (p. 20).

Despite the difficulties the Chinese immigrants experienced, many were able to find enough work in a wide range of occupations that most Whites found unpalatable, such as domestic work, work on railroads, and intensive farming, to save enough money to return to China to visit their families and to father children, hopefully sons. The immigrants who returned to China usually told about the promises of California but said little about its difficulties. Also, the home folks were impressed with what seemed like sizable sums of money the sojourners brought back to China. As the news about the Mountain of Gold spread, and immigrants returned home with money or sent money home to their families, the number of Chinese immigrating to California rose tremendously.

## Anti-Chinese Agitation

According to the 1860 census, there were 34,933 Chinese in the United States. By 1880, that number had risen to 105,465. Although the increase was sizable, there were still few Chinese immigrating to the United States compared to the number of European immigrants. Between 1820 and 1930, 38 million immigrants entered the United States, mostly from Europe. However, many Whites became alarmed at the number of Chinese entering the United States, and a vicious movement developed to keep them out. Although leaders of the anti-Chinese movement claimed that the Chinese could not be assimilated and that they competed unfairly with Whites on the labor market, racism was one of the main forces behind the anti-Chinese movement. As Saxton (cited in Melendy, 1972) has pointed out, "The Chinese inherited the longstanding hostility of Whites against people of color particularly Blacks. White Californians, conditioned to the notion that Blacks were inferior persons and servile workers, easily transferred these perceptions to the Chinese" (p. 18).

Led by Dennis Kearney and the California Workingmen's party, "The Chinese Must Go" became the rallying cry of the anti-Chinese movement. Leaders of all types joined in the movement to push the Chinese out of the West. Labor leaders were among the most staunch anti-Chinese advocates. Politicians jumped on the bandwagon in order to gain votes. As the hostility against the Chinese mounted, they became increasingly defenseless. Unlike the Japanese, they did not have a strong nation that could threaten the balance of world power when its citizens in the United States were ill treated.

The anti-Chinese movement spread as the Chinese moved to such states as Washington, Oregon, Colorado, and Wyoming. Anti-Chinese activities took the form of racist newspaper stories; violent attacks against defenseless men, women, and children; and highly discriminatory laws aimed particularly at the Chinese, such as the Queues Ordinance, the Laundry Ordinance, and the 1876 Cubic Air Law. One of the most blatantly discriminatory laws was the Foreign Miner's Tax passed by the California legislature in 1850. Applied most effectively against the Chinese, it forced them to pay a highly disproportionate share of the taxes collected under the law. Taxes paid by the Chinese largely financed the California state and county governments during this period (Chun-Hoon, 1973). The movement to ban the immigration of Chinese culminated with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1882. This bill stopped the immigration

of Chinese laborers for a period of ten years. A victory for the anti-Chinese leaders, it was followed by a series of similar bills that drastically reduced Chinese immigration for decades. The number of Chinese entering the United States dwindled from 39,579 in 1882 to 472 in 1893.

### **Violence and Riots**

Violence directed against the Chinese was widespread in the late 1880s. An anti-Chinese riot occurred in San Francisco as early as 1869. A White mob in Los Angeles attacked a Chinese community in 1871. When the conflict ended, nineteen Chinese Americans had been killed and their community was in shambles. Another anti-Chinese riot exploded in Denver, Colorado, in 1880. One Chinese was killed and most of the homes in the Chinese community were wrecked during the riot. A serious anti-Chinese riot occurred in Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1885. Twenty-eight Chinese were killed, fifteen were wounded, and many were driven from their homes. The property destroyed was estimated at \$150,000. Most of the White aggressors in these riots went unpunished partly because testimony against a White person by a Chinese was inadmissible in the courts.

### **Chinatowns**

The Chinese responded to this violence by moving farther eastward, to the Northeast (where they also became the victims of violence), and by retreating into ethnic communities in urban areas. Writes Lyman (1970), "By the end of the nineteenth century, the California Chinese had, for the most part, died off, returned to China, moved eastward or settled into the ghettos of American cities referred to as 'Chinatowns'" (p. 14).

Despite its outer glitter, life in Chinatown was and is tough and depressing. Since most of the male immigrants did not bring their wives to California and were unable to marry Caucasians because of miscegenation laws, Chinatown was made up primarily of desperate and lonely men who sought their recreation in the form of prostitution, gambling, and opium smoking. Because of the high population of lonely and virile men, and the scarcity of females, prostitution loomed large in Chinatown in the 1800s. It was controlled by the Chinese secret societies that paid off police officials so that they could "safely" practice their business. Competition between the various Chinese societies for power, women, and money was keen, and violence between them often erupted. These conflicts were sensationalized by the White press and were popularized as "tong wars." Such stories made good copy and were eagerly sought by many journalists. These news stories played into the hands of the anti-Chinese racists and were fully exploited.

Prostitution, tong wars, gambling, and opium smoking are largely things of the past in Chinatown. However, powerful antiquated Chinese organizations that care little about the masses still exercise considerable power. Poverty, squalor, and disease are rampant in some Chinese urban communities. San Francisco's Chinatown has one of the highest population densities in the nation. Many women in San Francisco's Chinatown work in the garment industry for very low wages. Housing and education in San Francisco's Chinatown are among the worst in the nation. The power elite in Chinatown, which profits from the misery of the masses, has helped obscure its outrageous conditions and publicized its glitter. Chinatown has been described as a "gilded ghetto whose tinsel streets and brightly lit shops barely camouflage a pocket of poverty in the metropolis" (Lyman, 1970, p. 8).

### **Chinese Americans Today**

Chinatown served as a port of entry for most of the earlier immigrants; it provided them with a sense of security, ties with the old world culture, and a partial escape from discrimination. Many Chinese Americans who are descendants of these earlier immigrants have experienced upward social and economic mobility and are leaving Chinatown. They have joined the exodus to the suburbs (Horton, 1995). However, the American Chinatowns are still viable and important communities. The newly upwardly mobile Chinese Americans who are moving to suburban communities are being replaced in Chinatown by new waves of immigrants from China and Hong Kong. In 1990, 69.3% of the Chinese Americans were foreign-born, compared to 32.4% of the Japanese (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993a). In his anthropological study of New York's Chinatown, Wong (1982) identifies four groups that live there: (1) old overseas Chinese, (2) American-born Chinese and naturalized Chinese Americans, (3) jump-ship sailors and refugees, and (4) disenfranchised/youths (Wong, 1982). The refugees from Southeast Asia face tremendous economic hardships and work long hours each day, sometimes from eighteen to twenty hours.

The new immigrants who have entered the United States since the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 have been bipolar in their social class backgrounds. In 1990, about 42% of Chinese Americans were menial service, low-skilled, and blue-collar workers. About 52% were managerial and technical workers (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). Even though the economic and educational levels of the total Chinese population are high, a large group of the new immigrants have low-paying jobs that are highly concentrated in restaurants and textile work. The bipolar nature of the Chinese community is also reflected in where they live. Many of the lower-level workers live in Chinatown, whereas many of the professional and upper-status workers live in suburban communities. Monterey Park, California, a suburban community of Los Angeles that had a population of 61,000 in 1988, had 50% Chinese residents. It had become "America's first suburban Chinatown" (Takaki, 1989, p. 425; Horton, 1995).

The social, educational, and economic characteristics of the total population of Chinese Americans in 1990 were impressive. Most Chinese Americans (about 73,600) who were twenty-five years or older were high school graduates, compared to 79.8% for Whites, and 75.2% for all persons (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). The median family income of Chinese Americans in 1990 was \$41,316, compared to \$35,225 for all persons. Chinese Americans were also highly concentrated in managerial, professional, and technical jobs in 1990, 35.5% of them held managerial and professional specialty jobs, compared to 26.4% for all persons. In addition, 31.2% of them held technical, sales, and administrative support occupations in 1990, compared to 31.7% for all persons. On most leading indicators of success in 1990, the Chinese in the United States exceeded the general population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b).

Because of the educational, occupational, and economic success of Chinese Americans, many of them have moved out of Chinatown to other areas within the city. They are still primarily urban and metropolitan dwellers. Most lived in metropolitan areas in 1990. Almost all poor Chinese, aged bachelors, and most recent immigrants live in Chinatown. Other groups, however, also live there. Although many Chinese Americans have joined the larger society, the Chinatowns of the nation are still viable communities that satisfy important human and cultural needs. Even the highly assimilated Chinese American occasionally returns to Chinatown on the weekend for a good ethnic meal or to buy certain Chinese products unavailable in predominantly White communities.

The Chinese community has experienced an influx of immigrants since the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which gave a liberal quota of 170,000 to people who lived in Eastern Hemisphere nations. A chain migration has developed. Once they are in the United States and have become citizens, many Chinese send for relatives under the provisions of the immigrant act that allow families to join other family members. The process multiplies. Between 1970 and 1980, the Chinese population in the United States increased 88%, while the White population increased 6%. In 1965, only 4,769 Chinese immigrants entered the United States, whereas 65,600 persons born in China (Mainland and Taiwan) and Hong Kong immigrated to the United States in 1992. The Chinese American population in 1990 was 1,645,000, which made them the largest Asian American group. They made up 23.8% of the Asian American population (see Figure 13-1).

Despite the tremendous increase in the Chinese American population since 1965, Asians still comprised only a small percentage of the U.S. population of more than 250 million in 1990. However, the Asian population in the United States grew more rapidly than any other ethnic group between 1980 and 1990 (99% increase). The rapid growth of the Chinese population in the United States is likely to have a number of important consequences. One possible consequence is that U.S. foreign policy will focus more on Asia.

## JAPANESE AMERICANS

### The Immigration

Because of overpopulation, depressed farming conditions, and political turmoil in Japan in the late 1800s, its citizens began immigrating to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland in search of better economic opportunities. The arrival of 148 Japanese contract laborers in Hawaii in 1868 to work on the plantations violated Japanese law. Japanese immigrants did not arrive in the United States and Hawaii in significant numbers until the Japanese government, because of internal problems, legalized immigration in 1886. There were 55 people of Japanese ancestry in the United States in 1870; 2,039 in 1890; and 111,010 in 1920 (Lyman, 1970). The largest number of Japanese immigrants arrived in the United States between 1891 and 1924; about 200,000 came during this period (Kitano, 1976).

After the anti-Chinese forces had successfully stopped Chinese immigration, epitomized by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, there was still a need for seasonal farm laborers in the developing West. The Japanese immigrants filled the labor void in agriculture and in other areas that had been created by the cessation of Chinese immigration. Why Whites on the West Coast halted the immigration of one group of Asians and then encouraged the coming of another is a curious and complex historical event. However, it was only a matter of time before the anti-Asian forces, already mobilized, began to attack aggressively the Japanese Americans as they had earlier attacked the Chinese.

Most of the first Japanese immigrants were young men, some of whom were married. They hoped to earn a small fortune in the United States and return to Japan. Like the Chinese, however, most of them remained in North America. There were many similarities in the experiences of Japanese and Chinese immigrants to the United States. However, there were some significant differences that profoundly influenced the development of the Chinese American and Japanese American communities. Organizations emerged within the Little Tokyos of America, as in early Chinatown, to help the new immigrant secure lodging, food, and jobs.

There were also few women among the first Japanese immigrants. Like the Chinese, the men had to share the women who were available. However, the man-woman ratio never became as imbalanced within the Japanese American community as it became in the Chinese community because the Japanese immigrants were able to marry Japanese women, despite the exclusion laws that were directed against Japanese immigrants. Although the men were in the United States and the women in Japan, marriages were arranged with photographs. The wives would later join their husbands, whom they had never seen, in the United States. These women became known as "picture brides."

(The picture bride custom was similar in some ways to the “tobacco bride” custom that was practiced in the Jamestown colony. The Virginia Company sent 90 European women to Virginia in the spring of 1620. Each man who married one of the women had to pay 120 pounds of the best tobacco to help pay for his bride’s transportation costs from Europe. In later years, the company continued to send more “maids” to Virginia to marry the lonely male colonists.) Although the picture-bride marriage practice was opposed vigorously by anti-Japanese groups, it was consistent with Japanese custom and continued until outlawed in Japan in 1920. Many parents of second-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei) were married in a “picture” ceremony. (Japanese Americans use specific terms to designate each generation: Issei, Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei refer to the first, second, third, and fourth generations, respectively.) These marriages worked amazingly well, partly because traditionally romantic love had not been a major factor in Japanese marriages. Rather, marriages were more the joining of two families rather than two individuals. This Japanese adage expresses cogently this attitude toward marriage: “Those who come together in passion stay together in tears.”

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## JAPANESE AMERICANS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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### Important Dates

1868	One hundred forty-eight Japanese contract laborers arrived in Hawaii.
1869	The unsuccessful Wakamatsu Colony, made up of Japanese immigrants, was established in California.
1906	The San Francisco Board of Education ordered all Asian children to attend a segregated Oriental school.
1907-08	The United States and Japan made the Gentlemen’s Agreement, which was designed to reduce the number of Japanese immigrants entering the United States.
1913	The California legislature passed a law making it difficult for Japanese immigrants to lease land.
1924	An immigration bill was passed by Congress that stopped Asian immigration to the United States.
1930	The Japanese American Citizenship League was founded.
1941	Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7.
1942	On February 19, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which authorized the internment of Japanese Americans who lived on the West Coast.
1946	The last internment camp was closed.
1948	The Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, signed by President Harry S Truman, authorized some compensation for the financial losses incurred by the Japanese Americans during the internment. The U.S. government eventually compensated the Japanese Americans for property loss at the rate of about 10 cents per dollar.
1952	The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act was passed by Congress. It ended the total exclusion of Asian immigrants, which had begun with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924. Asian Americans were granted naturalization rights.
1972	Statistics indicated that 47% of the Japanese Americans living in Los Angeles were married to non-Japanese spouses.
1986	A U.S. Court of Appeals reinstated the claim that the U.S. Government illegally took property from a group of Japanese interned during World War II. This case made it possible for claims by survivors to be heard in court.
1988	The American Civil Liberties bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Reagan. It provided an apology for the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and a \$20,000 payment for each survivor of the internment.

Although most of the Issei men were much older than their picture brides, the fact that they were able to marry helped the Japanese to establish strong families in the United States. Some writers consider the Japanese family the most significant factor in the social and economic mobility of Japanese Americans. Strong families developed early in the Japanese American community, partly because of the picture-bride custom. Because of exclusion laws that prohibited the immigration of Chinese females, family life in the Chinese American community developed slowly. A

large and assertive second generation of Japanese Americans emerged because the Issei were able to establish families in the United States. Such a generation did not develop among the Chinese for several decades because of their lack of family life. There were few Chinese women available and Chinese men were unable to marry Whites. The Chinese community, because of exclusion laws, was made up primarily of destitute, lonely, aging, and exploited men for several decades.

When they arrived on the West Coast, the Japanese immigrants worked in a variety of fields, including agriculture, the railroads, domestic work, gardening, small businesses, and industry. Because of job discrimination, they worked mainly in self-employment types of occupations. Consequently, they made their greatest impact in such fields as agriculture, gardening, and small business. Of all these areas, their accomplishments in agriculture, and especially truck farming, were the most impressive. Much of the land they were able to farm was considered unarable and largely useless by most White farmers. With a great deal of ingenuity and the use of intensive farming techniques, the Japanese began to dominate certain areas of California truck farming. They produced 90% of the state's peppers, strawberries, celery, and snap beans in 1941. In the same year, they raised a large percentage of California's cucumbers, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, lettuce, and onions (Melendy, 1972).

The Japanese immigrants were often praised for their industry and eagerness when they first arrived in California. However, their tremendous success in agriculture eventually alarmed and frightened farmers. They no longer saw the Japanese merely as ambitious workers and servants, but rather as tough competitors in the marketplace. To halt their success and to drive them out of California, White farmers and labor leaders inflamed anti-Asian feelings and warned of a new "Yellow Peril."

Some familiar faces and organizations, such as Dennis Kearney and the California newspapers, renewed their anti-Asian tactics. Anti-Japanese attitudes were pervasive on the West Coast. Almost every institution was affected. In 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education ordered all Asian American children, including the Japanese, to attend the segregated Oriental school. Japan was upset by this order and considered it a gross insult. Because of Japan's growing military strength, President Theodore Roosevelt thought the order might cause a serious conflict with Japan. Consequently, he intervened and persuaded the school board to rescind it.

To help mitigate the pervasive anti-Japanese feelings on the West Coast, the United States and Japan worked out an agreement designed to reduce drastically the immigration of Japanese laborers to the United States. This agreement, which became known as the Gentlemen's Agreement, was completed in 1908. Japan agreed to halt the immigration of laborers to the United States; the United States agreed to end discrimination against the Japanese. After this agreement, the number of Japanese entering the United States was reduced drastically. However, the anti-Japanese movements continued unabated. The most extremist groups wanted nothing less than total exclusion of the Japanese.

"The Japs Must Go!" became the rallying cry of the anti-Japanese movements. Racist headlines in the press, attacks on Japanese businesses, and other forms of violence occurred. The anti-Japanese forces won a major victory when the California legislature passed the Alien Land Bill in 1913. Japanese immigrants were considered "aliens ineligible for citizenship." This bill, designed to drive the Japanese out of farming, prohibited the Issei from leasing land for more than three years. Although the Japanese found this law devastating, they were able, to some extent, to circumvent it. Consequently, it did not have the impact its architects had hoped. Many Issei used their children's names to secure land or obtained land with the help of White friends. In 1920, the California legislature passed a more severe law, which was destined to have the effects the legislators had hoped the 1913 law would have. This law prevented the Issei from leasing land and prohibited them from using their children's names to lease land they could not legally lease themselves. This law served as the prototype for laws later passed in such states as Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, and Wyoming.

Even though the Alien Land Law of 1920 successfully reduced the number of Japanese Americans in agriculture, the anti-Japanese movement continued in full force. The groups comprising this movement wanted a total victory, which they viewed as a complete halt of Japanese immigration to the United States and the removal of the Japanese from California. They claimed that despite the Gentlemen's Agreement, the picture brides were swelling the Japanese population in the United States and that the Japanese were having an alarming number of children. The phobia of these groups was totally unfounded. The proportion of Japanese immigrants in the United States has always been small. From 1915 to 1924, when the movement to exclude Japanese immigrants was intense, 85,197 Japanese immigrants entered the United States, which comprised only 2.16% of all immigrants who came to the United States during this period (Petersen, 1971). A total of 45,533,116 immigrants came to the United States between 1820 and 1971; only 370,033 of these were Japanese. In 1920, there were only 111,010 Japanese immigrants in the United States. Thus, it was clearly fiction, politics, economic competition, and racism rather than the large number of Japanese immigrants that caused alarm about the "swelling" Japanese population in the United States.

The anti-Japanese forces experienced a long-awaited victory when the Immigration Act of 1924 was passed. This act fixed quotas for European countries on the basis of the percentages of their immigrants living in the United States and prohibited the immigration of aliens ineligible for citizenship. The act, in effect, stopped Asian immigration. Writes

Kitano (1976), "The 1924 immigration act was a major victory for racists, nativists, and exclusionists, and there is little doubt that it was resented by an insulted and bewildered Japan, which having understood that she was to become an important member of the family of nations, did not now understand this slap in the face" (p. 28).

### The Internment

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. Hysteria emerged on the West Coast as the anti-Japanese groups spread rumors about the so-called fifth column and espionage activities among the Japanese (Daniels, 1971). Some Whites argued that all Japanese Americans were still loyal to their mother country; others claimed that you could not tell a "good Jap" from a "bad Jap." Rumors, which spread like wildfire, suggested that the United States was in danger of being attacked by a fleet of Japanese soldiers and that Japanese Americans were helping to plan the attack. A tremendous fear of what came to be known as the Yellow Peril haunted the Pacific Coast. Daniels notes that the fear of conquest by Japan was irrational and racist (Daniels, 1971, p. 29). The press reinforced and perpetuated the fear by printing highly fictionalized and sensationalized news stories about the Japanese "threat."

It is significant to note that White California farmers and politicians played key roles in creating and perpetuating myths about the Yellow Peril. The farmers had long wanted to drive the Japanese out of California; politicians used the issue to gain votes and to divert attention from real political and social issues. It is also worth noting that we know of no sabotage activities in which Japanese Americans were involved during the war. In his perceptive study of the internment, Daniels (1971) argues that the decision to remove the Japanese from the West Coast was a political rather than military decision. Military officials knew during the war that the Japanese on the West Coast were not a security risk. However, because anti-Japanese groups in California urged the removal of the Japanese, it was politically expedient to intern them.

The uproar on the West Coast and the fear that spread throughout other parts of the nation resulted in the issuance of Executive Order No. 9066 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942. This order authorized the secretary of war to declare military areas "from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War... may impose in his discretion." Although mention of the Japanese Americans by name is notably absent from the document, the order was clearly aimed at them. It authorized the secretary of war to remove Japanese Americans from the West Coast (declared a "military area") and to set up federal concentration camps to which they would be forcibly removed.

The Japanese were first sent to assembly centers, which served as temporary living quarters. Later, a total of 110,000 Japanese Americans (two-thirds of whom were citizens of the United States) were located in these ten concentration camps: Tule Lake and Manzanar in interior California, Minidoka in Idaho, Topaz in Utah, Poston and Gila River in Arizona, Heart Mountain in Wyoming, Granada in Colorado, and Rohwer and Jerome in Arkansas. Most of the camps were located in desolate and barren areas that had hot weather in the summer and cold weather in the winter. They were fenced in with barbed wire and guarded by soldiers.

The internment had some adverse effects on the culture and life of the Japanese Americans. Because of the wide differences in the cultures of Japan and the United States, the Issei and Nisei had been less able to understand each other than most other immigrants and their children. The camp experience increased their alienation. The position of the Issei was further undermined in the camps because often their children, who were U.S. citizens, were able to obtain responsible jobs for which the Issei did not qualify. This was a severe blow to the self-image and confidence of the Issei male, since for centuries the oldest Japanese male had been the undisputed head of the household.

Other events undermined the strength and cogency of the Japanese family, which traditionally had been the pivotal force within the Japanese community. The female often made as much money as the male, and the family had to eat in a communal dining room. The father was unable to exercise his usual authority because of these types of situations. Consequently, family solidarity was lessened in the camps.

Widespread conflict developed within the camps over the question of loyalty. The Nisei often questioned the loyalty of the Issei. Japanese nationals accused the leaders of the Japanese American Citizenship League, who cooperated with the War Relocation Authority, of participating in the oppression of the Japanese. In their eagerness to prove their loyalty to the U.S. government, some Japanese helped federal authorities to conduct witch hunts for "suspected" Japanese. The internment showed how a dehumanizing experience could demoralize a group, which had traditionally had high group solidarity and trust, and cause mistrust and suspicion within it.

### Japanese Americans Today

The U.S. Japanese population has never been very large. Japanese immigration was halted by the Immigration Act of 1924 and did not resume until the ban on Asian immigration was lifted when the McCarran-Walter Act was passed in 1952. Although this act set a quota of only 185 Japanese immigrants per year Asian immigrants were no longer totally excluded.

Compared to the other Asian immigrant groups, few Japanese have immigrated to the United States since the passage of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. This is because of the highly developed nature of the economy of Japan and its ability to provide jobs for large numbers of technical and professional workers. Most of the immigrants who come to the United States from nations such as the Philippines, Korea, and India—and many of those from China and Hong Kong—are professional workers who are not able to find jobs consistent with their educations in their native lands. This is not the case in Japan. Between 1981 and 1992, 59,200 immigrants came to the United States from Japan, compared to 619,900 from the Philippines, 490,300 from China, 83,900 from Hong Kong, 534,400 from Vietnam, 343,600 from India, and 122,100 from Cambodia (see Table 13-1).

As a result of its small immigrating population, Japanese Americans are becoming one of the smallest of the Asian American groups and have one of the smallest foreign-born populations. In 1990, most Japanese Americans (about 67.6%) were U.S.-born citizens (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993a).

The Japanese American population was 848,000 in 1990 (see Table 13-3). They were the third largest Asian American ethnic group and made up 12.3% of the Asians in the United States. However, their population was close to that of Asian Indians (815,000) and to Koreans (799,000). Because they have a relatively low immigration rate, Japanese Americans had the lowest level of foreign-born among its population than any other group of Asian Americans in 1990 (32.4%). Japanese Americans are highly culturally assimilated. This is indicated by their high rate of out-marriage with other groups (Kitano & Daniels, 1995). In 1989, the out-marriage rate for Japanese Americans living in Los Angeles County was 51.9%. It was 58.3% for women and 41.7% for men (see Table 13-4).

**TABLE 13-4 OUT-MARRIAGE RATES FOR CHINESE, FILIPINOS, JAPANESE, KOREANS, AND VIETNAMESE IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY, 1975-1989**

Ethnicity	Year	Marriages	Out-Marriages		Percentage Out- Marrying by Gender	
			Number	Percentage	Women	Men
Chinese	1989	1,836	622	33.9	63.0	37.0
	1984	1,881	564	30.0	56.6	43.4
	1979	716	295	41.2	56.3	43.7
	1977	650	323	49.7	56.3	43.7
	1975	596	250	44.0	62.2	37.8
Filipinos	1989	1,384	565	40.8	74.2	25.8
Japanese	1989	1,134	588	51.9	58.3	41.7
	1984	1,404	719	51.2	60.2	39.8
	1979	764	463	60.6	52.7	47.3
	1977	756	477	63.1	60.6	39.4
	1975	664	364	54.8	53.6	46.4
Koreans	1989	1,372	151	11.0	74.8	25.2
	1984	543	47	8.7	78.6	21.4
	1979	334	92	27.6	79.6	20.4
	1977	232	79	34.1	73.4	26.6
	1975	250	65	26.0	63.1	36.9
Vietnamese	1989	555	147	26.5	54.4	45.6
	1984	560	34	6.0	74.7	25.3

SOURCE: Los Angeles County Marriage License Bureau. H. H. L. Kitano & R. Daniels, *Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities*, 2/c, © 199S, p. 187. Reprinted by permission of Prentice-Hall, Upper Saddle River, New jersey.

The Japanese Americans have been termed the so-called model American ethnic minority because of their success in education, social-class mobility, and low levels of crime, mental illness, and other social deviances. In 1990, the Japanese median family income was \$51,500 compared to \$35,225 for all Americans (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). The Japanese also had high educational achievement in 1990; 87.5% of Japanese, twenty-five years or older, were high school graduates or higher, compared to 75.2% for all persons in the United States. The Japanese were also highly concentrated in managerial, professional, and technical occupations in 1990 (employed persons age sixteen and older); 37% of the Japanese had managerial and professional specialty occupations, compared to 26.4% for all persons. In addition, 34.4% of the Japanese had technical, sales, and administrative support occupations, compared to 31.7% for all persons (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b).

Writes Petersen (1971), "By almost any criterion of good citizenship that we choose, not only are Japanese Americans better than any other segment of American society, including native Whites of native parents, but they have realized this remarkable progress by their own almost unaided effort....Every attempt to hamper the progress of Japanese Americans, in short, has resulted in enhancing their determination to succeed" (pp. 4-5).

## Breaking Silence and the Future of the Japanese in U.S. Society

The silence that many Japanese Americans had kept about their internment during World War II was broken during the hearings before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRJC). Congress created the Commission “to determine whether a wrong was committed against those American citizens and permanent residents relocated and/or interned as a result of Executive Order Numbered 9066 and other associated acts of the Federal Government, and to recommend appropriate remedies.” The Commission held twenty days of hearings and took testimony from more than 750 witnesses between July and December 1981 (Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 1982). Many people who spoke before the Commission were Japanese Americans who had been interned. They told about their experiences in poignant and moving language.

In December 1982 the Commission issued its report, *Personal Justice Denied* (Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 1982). The report condemned the internment and in June 1983 recommended that Congress allow \$1.5 billion to provide personal redress to the Japanese who were interned during the war years. The Commission stated in its report:

The promulgation of Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity and the decisions which followed from it—detention, ending detention and ending exclusion—were not driven by analysis of military conditions. The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership. Widespread ignorance of Japanese Americans contributed to a policy conceived in haste and executed in an atmosphere of fear and anger at Japan. A grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them, were excluded, removed and detained by the United States during World War II. (p. 18)

It was a long road of debate and controversy, both within and outside of Congress, between the Commission's recommendation of redress for internees in June 1983 and the enactment of the American Civil Liberties bill by Congress in August 1988. The bill offered the Japanese Americans an apology for their internment and provided a payment of \$20,000 for each internee. The payments, which were scheduled to begin in 1990, were to be made over a ten-year period, were to go to older persons first, and could be made to survivors descendants in the event of the survivor's death. Because the payments were to be made over a ten-year period, many internees would die before the total payment was made. President Ronald Reagan praised the Japanese who served in World War II when he signed the bill and said that the nation was gravely wrong when it interned the Japanese Americans.

The success of the Japanese in U.S. society is indisputable. However, the future of Japanese culture, values, and behaviors in the United States is uncertain. Their success is probably a result largely of traditional Japanese values, attitudes, and beliefs. With a high out-marriage rate and a relatively low rate of immigration, cultural and structural assimilation into the mainstream society may erode the most important values that have taken the Japanese down the road to success. However, a more hopeful possibility is that as they become structurally integrated into the mainstream society, they will enrich it with traditional Japanese values and remain to some extent culturally Japanese as they become full participants in U.S. society.

## FILIPINO AMERICANS

### Early Filipino Settlement in the United States and Hawaii

Filipinos came to Hawaii and the United States in the first decades of the twentieth century seeking work and better opportunities. An early community of Filipinos in Louisiana has been documented by Espina (1988). Espina's (1988) research cites October 18, 1587, as the earliest known date when Filipino sailors aboard a Spanish galleon landed in what is known today as Morro Bay, San Luis Obispo County, California. Eventually, these sailors—"Manila-men"—jumped ship to escape Spanish domination and around 1763 founded the first permanent Filipino settlement in the bayous of Louisiana. These men developed a dried shrimp industry in their Louisiana settlement.

Significant numbers of Filipinos did not settle in the United States and Hawaii until the turn of the century. Most Filipino immigrants were categorized as *pensionados* or *sakadas*, although some were neither. *Pensionados* were government-sponsored students who returned to the Philippines to apply the knowledge they acquired in the United States. *Sakadas* were contracted laborers who were recruited to work in the sugar fields of Hawaii for three years and either returned to the Philippines, remained in Hawaii, or ventured to the mainland. *Sakadas* were cheap and exploited field hands lured by the promises of a better life in America.

The Philippine revolution against Spanish domination began in 1896. By 1898, Spain and the United States were fighting the Spanish-American War. With the bulk of Spain's military forces concentrated in the Caribbean, its weakened position in the Philippines led the United States to seek control of the Philippines. The refusal of the United States to accept the Filipinos' claim to independence in 1898 launched the Filipino-American War. By 1902, the United States assumed guardianship over the Philippines, thus establishing Filipinos as nationals.



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## FILIPINO AMERICANS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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### Important Dates

1587	Filipino sailors landed in Morro Bay, San Luis Obispo County, California. They were among the first Asians to cross the Pacific Ocean for the North American continent because of the Manila galleon trade between Mexico and the Philippines.
1763	The first permanent Asian settlements in the continental U.S. were Filipino villages in the bayous of Louisiana. Filipino sailors escaped from Spanish colonizers.
1898	Filipinos fought Spanish rule, established the Malolos Congress, and elected Emilio Aguinaldo as the first Philippine president. The United States refuted Philippine claim to independence and purchased the islands for \$20 million under the terms of the Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War.
1899-1901	Filipinos fought for independence from the United States in the Filipino-American War.
1902	The Organic Act of July 1902 recognized the Philippines as an unincorporated territory of the United States.
1906	More than 200 Filipino contract laborers, <i>Sakadas</i> , were brought to Hawaii by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association.
1911	The Filipino Federation of Labor was founded in Hawaii.
1929	An anti-Filipino riot occurred in Exeter, California, in which more than 200 Filipinos were assaulted.
1930	Fermin Tobera, who later became a Filipino martyr, was killed in an anti-Filipino riot in Watsonville, California.
1934	Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act. This act promised the Philippines independence in 10 years and limited Filipino immigration to the United States to 50 per year.
1935	President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Repatriation Act on July 11. This act offered free transportation to Filipinos who would return to the Philippines. The 2,190 who took advantage were unable to return to the U.S. except under the quota system.
1940	Under the terms of the Nationality Act of 1940, Filipino immigrants to the United States could become citizens through naturalization. U.S. citizenship was extended to other categories of Filipino Americans on July 2, 1946.
1941	Japan attacked the Philippines.
1946	On July 4, 1946, the Philippines becomes independent.
1965	Larry Iltiong organized Filipino farm laborers.
1965	The Immigration Reform Act of 1965 opened the door for an influx of Philippine professionals to the United States. More than 32,000 Filipinos immigrated to the United States in 1974.
1990	The immigration Act of 1990, Section 405, gave Filipino servicemen who were trained in the Philippines and who fought for the United States during World War II between 1939 and 1946 the opportunity to apply for U.S. citizenship.
1992	More than 61,000 Filipino immigrants entered the United States, making them the largest national group to enter the United States that year except the Mexicans.

### The Immigration

The magnet that pulled Filipinos to Hawaii and the United States came primarily from without rather than from within. Immigration from the Philippines during the 333 years that the islands were ruled by Spain was virtually nil. However, when the United States acquired the Philippines after the Spanish-American War in 1898, it was only a matter of time before farmers in Hawaii and the United States would successfully lure Filipinos away from the islands to work as cheap and exploited field hands. Recruiting and transportation agents lured Filipinos away from their homeland with high-pressure propaganda about the promises of Hawaii and the United States. Because of chronic unemployment and widespread poverty in the islands, thousands of Filipinos left their native land in search of the dream.

Since Chinese immigration had come to an abrupt end in 1882, Japanese immigrants had been the main source of cheap labor for plantation owners in Hawaii and big farmers on the U.S. West Coast. However, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908 substantially reduced Japanese immigration, and the Immigration Act of 1924 virtually stopped it. When Japanese immigration ended, a new source of cheap labor was desired by farmers in Hawaii and in the United States. The United States had recently annexed both Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Each nation was regarded as a promising source of cheap labor. However the attempt to start large-scale immigration from Puerto Rico failed, and the farmers turned to the Philippines, where they had considerable success. The powerful Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association became so alarmed when the Gentlemen's Agreement restricted Japanese immigration in 1907-1908 that it brought more than 200 Filipino workers to Hawaii that year. The association wanted to make sure that when Japanese immigration stopped, there would be a new source of labor just as abundant and cheap.

Filipino immigration to Hawaii continued and escalated after 1907. However, until the 1920s, most of the Filipino immigrants remained in Hawaii and did not come to the U.S. mainland. In 1920, there were only 5,603 Filipinos in the United States. However, from 1923, when Filipino immigration to the United States gained momentum, until it reached its peak in 1929, large-scale immigration to the mainland occurred. In 1929 alone 5,795 Filipinos entered California. Between 1907 and 1910, about 150,000 immigrants left the Philippines and headed for Hawaii or the United States.

Although the highly glorified and exaggerated tales spread by recruiting and transportation agents were the magnet that pulled hundreds of Filipinos from their homeland, the letters and money sent back home by immigrants, as well as the desire to get rich quickly, helped to motivate them to leave the poverty-stricken islands.

Filipino immigrants in the United States had some unique group characteristics that were destined to make their lives on the West Coast harsh and poignant. As the third wave of Asian immigrants, they were victims of the accumulated anti-Asian racism. They were also a young group. According to McWilliams (1943), they were the youngest group of immigrants in U.S. history. They ranged in age from about sixteen to thirty; most, 84.3%, were under thirty. The immigrants were predominantly male. Few Filipino women immigrated because female immigration violated tradition. Also, most of the immigrants were sojourners who hoped to return to the Philippines after attaining the riches of America. Like the other Asian sojourners, the longer they stayed in the United States, the more the hope waned that they would ever be able to return home.

The sex ratio was imbalanced, as it was in early Chinese American communities. In 1930, there was 1 woman for every 143 men. The Filipinos immigrated from a country that was a U.S. colony in which the American myth of "all men are created equal" was taught in the schools. Thus, unlike the other Asian groups, they came to the United States expecting to be treated like equals. Their acceptance of this myth made their adjustment in the United States more difficult.

### **Work**

Like other Asian immigrants, the Filipinos came to Hawaii and the United States to do work the Whites disdained and refused to do. They were hired, usually under a contract system, to pick asparagus and lettuce and to do other kinds of "stoop" field work. In addition to farming, the Filipinos, especially after World War II, worked as domestics. They cooked, washed dishes, and worked as house servants. Some worked in the fishing industry and in canneries.

### **The Filipino Community**

Unlike the Japanese and Chinese, the Filipinos were unable to develop tightly knit ethnic communities. The little Manila districts in cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco were primarily entertainment centers and stopping places for the field hands between seasons. The Filipinos could not establish highly cohesive communities because their jobs kept them moving and because, like the Chinese immigrants, they were unable to have much of a family life because of the small number of Filipino females.

The types of entertainment and recreation that emerged within Filipino American communities reflected the sociological makeup of young, unmarried males searching for meaning in life within a hostile and racist atmosphere. Prostitution, cockfighting, and gambling were favorite pastimes for the lonely, alienated men. The Filipino-owned dance halls, in which White girls danced and sold or gave other favors to the immigrants, were popular and a source of widespread tension between Filipinos and White men. Whites passed laws prohibiting Filipinos from marrying White women. However, these laws had little effect on biological drives and mutual attraction between White women and Filipino men. Stockton, California, was dubbed the Manila of the United States because so many Filipinos settled there. It was the site of much conflict and tension between Filipinos and Whites. Although there were few tightly organized Filipino communities, a strong sense of group solidarity and sense of peoplehood emerged among Filipinos. Strong nationalism, as the gifted Filipino American writer Carlos Bulosan epitomized (San Juan, 1972), was widespread among Filipinos in the United States.

## **Anti-Filipino Agitation**

As the third wave of Asian immigrants to the West Coast, Filipinos inherited all of the anti-Asian prejudice and racism that had accumulated since the Chinese started immigrating to the United States in the 1850s. When Filipino immigration reached significant levels in the 1920s, familiar anti-Asian screams about the Yellow Peril were again heard. These anti-Asian movements were, again, led by organized labor and patriotic organizations such as the American Federation of Labor and the Native Sons of the Golden West. The arguments were identical to those that had been made against the Chinese and Japanese; the victims were different but the victimizers were the same. Labor groups claimed that Filipinos were “unfair competition”; patriotic groups argued that they were unassimilable and would pollute the “pure” White race. One exclusionist warned (cited in Divine, 1957, p. 70), “This mongrel stream is small, but when it is considered how rapidly it multiplies and grows it is clear that the tide must be stemmed before it gets beyond control.”

Labor and nativistic groups had succeeded in halting Chinese and Japanese immigration by urging Congress to pass exclusion laws. However, the Filipinos presented a different problem. They could not be excluded as “aliens” under the provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924 because of their peculiar and ambiguous legal status. Because the United States had annexed the Philippines in 1898, its citizens were not aliens. However, unlike Puerto Ricans, they were not citizens of the United States either. Filipinos were “nationals” or “wards” of the United States. Consequently, they could not be excluded with the immigration laws that applied to foreign nations. Representative Richard Welch of California nevertheless fought hard to get an outright exclusion act through Congress in 1928. The attempt failed, but Welch succeeded in rallying widespread support for the anti-Filipino cause.

The failure of the Welch bill convinced the leaders of the exclusion movement that they had to try another strategy. The desire for independence within the Philippines had become intense by the late 1920s. The Philippines’ independence movement gave the exclusionists new hope for a cause that had become an obsession: to exclude and deport Filipinos. They jumped on the independence bandwagon. If the Philippines became independent, they correctly reasoned, its citizens could be excluded under the provisions of existing immigration laws. The passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act on March 24, 1934, was a significant victory for the exclusionists.

In addition to promising the Philippines independence, the Tydings-McDuffie Act limited Filipino immigration to the United States to 50 people per year. This act, as was the intention of its architects, virtually excluded Filipino immigration to the United States. Even this bill did not totally satisfy the exclusionists. They not only wanted Filipino immigration stopped, but they also wanted Filipinos deported. They pushed the so-called Repatriation Act through Congress. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the act on July 11, 1935. Under the terms of the act, any Filipino could obtain free transportation back to the Philippines. However, there was an insidious catch to this inducement. Once they returned, they could not reenter the United States. Few Filipinos were seduced by this act. Only about 2,000 returned to the Philippines under its provisions.

## **Riots and Anti-Filipino Violence**

Both before and after the Filipino exclusion and deportation acts, anti-Filipino Whites carried out a vicious and active campaign of violence against Filipinos in the western states. One of the first anti-Filipino riots broke out in Yakima, Washington, on September 19, 1928. Some of the most serious riots occurred in California, where most Filipino immigrants first settled. On October 24, 1929, Whites attacked and assaulted more than 200 Filipinos and did considerable property damage in Exeter, California. Fermin Tobera, a lettuce picker, was killed in a riot that occurred in Watsonville, California, in January 1930. Tobera’s murder greatly disturbed his native homeland, and a National Humiliation Day was declared in Manila. Some Filipinos felt that Tobera had been ruthlessly slain by a “mob of blood-thirsty Americans” (Wallovits, 1966, p. 124). Three people were shot in a riot that occurred near Salinas, California, in August 1934. An anti-Filipino riot occurred as late as June 1939 in Lake County, California. Writes McWilliams (1943), “No reparations or indemnities were ever made for these repeated outrages; nor were the culprits ever punished” (p. 240).

## **Filipino Americans Today**

Between 1981 and 1992, Filipinos were the second largest group immigrating to the United States; they were exceeded only by immigrants from Mexico. The number of Filipinos entering the United States increased from 3,130 in 1965 to 61,000 in 1992. The Filipino population in the United States increased 80% in the decade between 1980 and 1990, while the White population increased by 6%. In 1990, there were about 1,407,000 Filipinos living in the United States. Of these, 52% lived in California and 12% lived in Hawaii. The next highest concentrations lived in Illinois (5%), New York (4%) and Washington State (3%). Most Filipinos lived in urban areas in 1990.

Most Filipinos who came to the United States in the 1920s were unskilled laborers. The Immigration Act of 1965 not only significantly increased the number of Filipino immigrants to the United States but also changed the characteristics of the immigrants. The majority of the immigrants now entering the United States from the Philippines are professional, technical, and kindred workers. These immigrants come to the United States to seek jobs that are

more consistent with their training than those they can obtain in the Philippines. A significant number of them are specialists in the health professions. Professional and technical workers from the Philippines have encountered some difficulties obtaining licenses to practice their crafts in the United States and have experienced language problems and discrimination. Sometimes doctors, dentists, and pharmacists must take lower-level jobs out of their fields until they can obtain the licenses needed to practice their professions in the United States. Many Filipinos who eventually practice their professions in the United States have obtained additional training in U.S. schools.

The significant number of professionally trained Filipinos who have immigrated to the United States since the Immigration Act of 1965 was enacted has changed substantially the social and demographic characteristics of the Filipino Americans. In 1990, 66.4% of Filipinos in the United States were foreign-born. In terms of numbers, there were more foreign-born Americans of Filipino origin than of any other group other than Mexicans. There were 913,000 foreign-born Filipinos and 4,298,000 Mexicans. However, the Filipinos did not have the highest percentage of foreign-born persons among the Asian Americans; 79.9% percent of the Vietnamese were foreign-born and 79.4% of the Laotians were foreign-born (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993a).

Before 1970, Filipinos were heavily concentrated in the lower strata of the population on most indices, such as education, income, and job status. However, data from both the 1980 and 1990 U.S. Censuses indicate that the group characteristics of Filipino Americans—based on several criteria related to education, income, and job status—do not differ significantly from the Japanese, Chinese, and other Asian groups in the United States (see Table 13-1). Like the Chinese and Japanese, Filipinos are ahead of the general population on most of these indices. In 1990, the median family income for Filipinos was \$46,698, compared to \$35,225 for all persons in the United States. The percentage of Filipino high school graduates, twenty-five years or older, was 82.6%, compared to 75.2% for all persons in the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993 b).

Kim's (1978) study of Filipinos in Chicago indicates why the median family income of Asian families might be higher than that of White families. In many Asian families, both parents are highly trained and have professional jobs. Kim describes the typical Filipino in her study as follows:

In broad terms, the Chicago Filipino [sic] respondent can be categorized as young, well-educated, and fairly well-off financially: he [or she] is in his early thirties, has finished college, and may have a graduate or professional degree. Unlike most of the other groups in the study, it does not matter in this area whether the Filipino respondent is male or female. In either case, the educational level and job level—skilled, white-collar, or professional—will probably be about the same. The Pilipino female will also be just about as likely as her male counterpart to have a full-time job, or to hold more than one job. (p. 172)

A study of the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in the United States will help students to understand how these groups resisted racism and discrimination and attained success in U.S. society. However, their success was attained and is maintained by hard work, tenacity, and the will to overcome. Despite their success in U.S. society, Asians are still the victims of racism and discrimination—both subtle and blatant. Violent incidents against Asian Americans received national attention in 1985. A *New York Times* article was entitled "Violent Incidents against Asian-Americans Seen as Part of Racist Pattern" (Butterfield, 1985). Part of the violence may have its roots in the U.S. response to competition from the Japanese; some Americans blur the distinction between Japanese Americans and foreign Japanese. The violence may be partly a response to the significant number of Asian immigrants now entering the United States. Regardless of the cause of this new wave of anti-Asian violence, it reminds us that racism is an integral part of U.S. society that can victimize any racial or ethnic group, no matter how successful.

## TEACHING STRATEGIES

Concepts such as *immigration*, *discrimination*, and *cultural diversity* are highlighted in the historical overviews. This part of the chapter illustrates strategies for teaching three concepts, *similarities and differences*, *immigration*, and *discrimination*. An infinite variety of strategies can be used to teach each of these concepts. However, these activities are illustrative and can serve as a guide to teacher planning. Although each concept can and should be taught at all grade levels, we discuss strategies for teaching similarities and differences in the primary grades, immigration in intermediate and upper grades, and discrimination in the high school grades.

## Primary Grades

CONCEPT: Names (Similarities and Differences)

Generalization: We all have names. However, our different names often give other people clues about our different origins, cultures, and experiences.

### Introduction

*Similarities* and *differences* are two concepts that can be effectively taught in the primary grades. These concepts can be understood by young children when they are taught with concrete examples. A unit on names can help primary grade children learn that even though we all have names (a similarity), our names often give other people clues about our different origins, experiences, and cultural backgrounds. It is appropriate to help children better understand the nature and origins of names when they are studying Asian Americans because teachers and students often find some Asian names, such as Vietnamese names, difficult to pronounce and understand.

1. Begin this unit by telling the class that the people who live in our nation, the United States (point it out to the children on a primary globe), came from many different nations and lands. Ask the students: "Can you name some of the nations from which the people in the United States came?" Record accurate responses on the board or butcher paper.

Using a primary globe, show the students some of the nations and continents from which immigrants to the United States came. Ask the students if any of them have ever traveled to any of these nations and continents. If any of them have, ask them to tell briefly about their trips.

Say to the class: "The ancestors of American Indians came to what is now the United States thousands of years ago. The ancestors of many Jews and Italians came to the United States almost 100 years ago. Other Americans, such as many Cubans and Vietnamese, have lived in the United States for fewer than 50 years. People from different parts of the world have many different ways of living, often believe different things, eat different kinds of food, and have different religions. Often people from various nations keep some of their differences after they have lived in the United States for many years. People in various nations often have different kinds of names. Many Americans, whose ancestors came from many different nations or who came from different nations themselves, have names that sound and look different from the names of other groups. These different kinds of names give us clues about the homelands of their ancestors or about their homelands, and about their ways of life and beliefs."

Write the following names on the board or butcher paper:

Susan Schmidt

Juan Rivera Sanchez

Jennifer Kim

Patrick O'Shea

Ito Matsuda

Wing Chu

Katherine Ann Shilenski

Hoang Hy Vinh

Say to the class: "Here are the names of eight of the children in Mrs. Gonzales's third-grade class in a school in Los Angeles. Do their names give us any clues about where their ancestors came from, about what foods they might eat, and about which holidays they might celebrate?"

After giving the students an opportunity to state their ideas about what the children's names reveal about them, tell them a little about each of the eight students in Mrs. Gonzales's class. A brief description of each student follows.

*Susan Schmidt.* Susan's ancestors came to the United States from Germany in the 1820s. However, Susan says she is a *complete* American. She has no German characteristics that she knows about.

Ask the class: "Why do you think Susan has an American, rather than a German, given name? Why does she consider herself completely American rather than part German? Do any of you have German names? If so, do you feel totally American or part German? Why?"

*Juan Rivera Sanchez.* Juan was born in Mexico and moved to Los Angeles last year. Unlike Susan's name, Juan's name includes both his father's surname (Rivera), and his mother's maiden surname (Sanchez). This is a common practice in Spanish-speaking nations. In Mexico, it is correct to call Juan, "Mr. Rivera."

Ask the class: “Why do you think that in Spanish-speaking nations children’s names often include both their father’s surname and their mother’s surname before marriage? If your name included both of your parents’ surnames (and not just your father’s), how would your name be written? If you don’t know your mother’s surname before she married, ask a parent tonight and be prepared to share your name written with your father’s surname and your mother’s surname before she married.” (Note: Some of the children’s mothers might use their maiden surnames, rather than the surnames of their spouses. Some of them may also be single parents who have never used any other surname.)

*Jennifer Kim.* Jennifer’s grandparents came to the United States during the Korean War in 1952. Jennifer does not speak Korean but enjoys Korean foods. She also likes to visit her relatives who speak Korean and talk about what life was like in Korea.

Ask the class: “Why do you think Jennifer has an American, rather than a Korean, given name? Do you think Jennifer feels like a total American, or part Korean and part American? Why do you think she feels this way?”

*Patrick O’Shea.* Patrick’s great-grandparents came to the United States from Ireland. He thinks of himself as both Irish and American—as an “Irish American.”

Ask the class: “Why do you think Patrick feels more Irish than Susan feels Get-man?”

*Ito Matsuda.* Ito was born in Japan and came to the United States when he was two years old. Ito speaks Japanese and English. He feels that he is both Japanese and American. At home, the Matsuda family usually eats Japanese, rather than American, food. Most of the time the Matsudas speak Japanese, rather than English, when talking to each other.

Ask the class: “Why do you think Ito is more Japanese than Jennifer is Korean?”

*Wing Chu.* Wing’s family moved from China to the United States last year. Wing is still learning to speak English. Most of his family’s friends are Chinese. He lives in a Chinese neighborhood.

Ask the class: “Do you think Wing feels Chinese and American, or Chinese? Why do you think he feels this way?”

*Katherine Ann Shilenski.* Katherine’s grandparents came to the United States from Poland before her parents were born. Katherine does not speak Polish. She knows only a little about the Polish culture. She has often heard her parents talk about the problems of the people in Poland. Katherine is interested in learning more about the culture and language of her ancestors. She hopes to visit Poland someday.

Ask the class: “Why do you think Katherine feels more Polish than Susan feels German?”

*Hoang Hy Vinh.* Vinh came to the United States with his parents from Vietnam three years ago. Vinh’s name is different in one important way from the names of his classmates. His surname (Hoang) is written first, his middle name (Hy) next, and his first or given name last (Vinh). Because of respect for him and his ancestors, the people in Vietnam would not address Vinh by his surname (Binh, 1975). Rather, they would call him “Vinh” or “Mr. Vinh.” Point out to the class how Susan’s, Jennifer’s, Juan’s, and Patrick’s names, and most of their names, are written differently from Vinh’s. Ask the students to write their names in the Vietnamese way and read them aloud.

Ask the class: “What problems do you think Vinh’s teachers and classmates might have with his name? How do you think these problems make Vinh feel? If you moved to Vietnam and went to school, what do you think the teachers and students would call you? Why? How do you think this would make you feel?”

2. Tell the students to ask their parents to tell them the national origins of their surnames. End this unit by making a chart on butcher paper (or on the board) that shows each student’s surname and the nation from which it came. Ask the children to tell as much as they can about the nations from which their surnames came, and whether their families eat foods, celebrate holidays, or have customs related to those nations. Second- and third-grade students can do research on these nations using a source such as *Britannica Junior*.

*Note:* Some children in your class might not be able to find out the nations from which their surnames came. It is difficult, for example, for many African Americans to find out the national origins of their surnames. In these cases, label their names American on the class chart and ask these students to tell what American customs their families practice.

## Intermediate and Upper Grades

### CONCEPT: Immigration

Generalization: Asian Americans immigrated to the United States to improve their economic conditions and to fulfill labor needs in Hawaii and in the continental United States.

1. Read to the class accounts that describe the early immigrations of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos to the United States (see bibliography at the end of this chapter for appropriate references).

Students should be able to answer the following questions when they have finished the readings:

What economic, social, and political problems did the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos have in China, Japan, and the Philippines?

What were the labor needs on the West Coast of the United States?

Why did the immigrants leave China, Japan, and the Philippines?

Was the United States what they expected? Why or why not?

2. Carefully study the historical summary on Filipino Americans in this chapter and read Chapter 9, "Dollar a Day, Dime a Dance: The Forgotten Filipinos," in Ronald Takaki (1989), *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. Boston: Little, Brown. Prepare a two-page ditto summarizing the economic, social, and political conditions of the early Filipino immigrants who went to Hawaii and the United States. Assign this ditto to the students as a third reading.

3. After the students have read and discussed each of the three readings, have them complete Table 13-5.

4. When the students have completed the chart, have them summarize and generalize about why many Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos immigrated to Hawaii and the United States, and about the labor needs they satisfied there.

5. Have the students role-play the situation below, which involves a representative of the Hawaiian Farmers Association trying to persuade a Filipino worker to go to Hawaii to work on a sugar plantation in 1910. After the role-play situation, ask the students the questions that follow. The role descriptions follow:

Mr. Howard Smith, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association Representative

Mr. Smith has been hired to recruit workers for the association. He realizes that his job depends on his success in recruiting workers. He also realizes that if he truthfully explains the situation in Hawaii, he will obtain few workers. He therefore decides to paint a rosy picture of the work on the sugar plantation in Hawaii. He explains to Mr. Ilanos that the contract is for three years and that the association will pay his transportation from the Philippines to Hawaii.

**TABLE 3-5 DATA RETRIEVAL CHART ON ASIAN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS**

	Chinese Immigrants	Japanese Immigrants	Filipino Immigrants
Economic situation in homeland when immigration began			
Political situation in homeland when immigration began			
Social conditions in homeland when immigration began			
Labor needs on U.S. mainland when immigration began			
Labor needs in Hawaii when immigration began			

*Mr. Jose Ilanos, a Filipino Who Lives in the Philippines*

Mr. Ilanos is a young man with a wife and two children. He is a hard worker. However, in the last few years he has not been able to make enough money to support his family. He has heard about Mr. Smith and is interested in talking to

him. However, his wife does not want him to leave the Philippines. Moreover, he has heard from friends that the work in Hawaii is hard and that the pay is rather low.

### Questions

1. Did Mr. Smith succeed in persuading Mr. Ilanos to go to Hawaii to work? Why or why not?
2. If Mr. Ilanos decides to go to Hawaii, do you think that Mrs. Ilanos would go with him? Why or why not?
3. If Mr. Ilanos decides to go to Hawaii, what do you think will happen to him? Why? Do you think he might eventually immigrate to the United States? Why or why not?
4. If Mr. Ilanos decides to remain in the Philippines, what do you think will happen to him? Why?
5. Were there any other options open to Mr. Ilanos besides keeping his same job or going to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations? If there were, what were they? If there were not, why?
6. If you were Mr. Ilanos would you have accepted a contract from Mr. Smith? Why or why not?

### Valuing Activity

Read the following story to the class and ask the questions that follow.

#### Father and Son

Mr. Robert Morimoto is a second-generation Japanese American who lives in an upper-middle-class, predominantly White suburban community near Los Angeles. He is a successful businessman. Mr. Morimoto is proud to be an American and believes that even though our country has problems, any person, regardless of his or her race, can make it in the United States if he or she really tries. Mr. Morimoto does not like to talk about the years that he spent in the Heart Mountain federal concentration camp in Wyoming during World War II. The internment, he feels, is a thing of the past. Japanese Americans should not dwell on it too much today. Mr. Morimoto is impatient with those Sansei who talk about the internment all of the time. He feels that they have had it easy and do not have much right to criticize their country the way that they do.

Mr. Morimoto and his son have many fights because of their different beliefs. Henry is a student at a local university and is president of the Asian American Student Association on campus. Henry believes that the United States is a racist nation that oppresses all people of color, including the Japanese Americans. He often talks about the internment and harshly criticizes Japanese Americans like his father who tries to “sweep it under the rug.” Henry believes that all Third World people (by which he means all non-Whites) should join together to fight oppression and racism in America. When they had their last verbal fight, Henry told his father that even though he was successful in business, he had no political power in America, and was Yellow on the outside but was White on the inside. Mr. Morimoto became very upset with Henry. He told Henry that he would either have to start treating him with respect or move out of his house.

### Questions

1. Why do you think Mr. Morimoto feels the way he does?
2. Why do you think Henry feels the way he does?
3. Do you think that Henry is treating Mr. Morimoto fairly?
4. Do you think that Mr. Morimoto is treating Henry fairly?
5. If you were Henry, what would you do? Why?
6. If you were Mr. Morimoto, what would you do? Why?

### High School Grades

CONCEPT: Discrimination

Generalization: Asian Americans have been the victims of widespread prejudice and highly discriminatory immigration and migration laws.

Initiate this unit by showing the students a videotape about the internment such as *The Japanese Internment Cases*. This videotape tells the story of three Japanese American men who resisted the military order to be interned. After viewing the videotape, ask the students to write one-sentence reactions to it. Divide the class into groups of three to five to discuss their written reactions to the videotape. Each group should be asked to develop a written reaction, to be shared later with the entire class, on which all group members can agree.



1. Ask individual students or small groups of students to prepare short research reports on the following topics and present them to the class.

- a. The California Foreign Miner's Tax of 1850.
- b. Anti-Chinese riots that occurred in the 1800s.
- c. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.
- d. Anti-Asian groups that developed on the West Coast in the late 1800s and continued through the 1930s, such as the Native Sons of the Golden West.
- e. The California Alien Land Laws that prohibited Japanese immigrants from owning or leasing land.
- f. The internment of Japanese Americans.
- g. The Immigration Act of 1924.
- h. Anti-Filipino riots that occurred in the 1920s and 1930s.
- i. The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934.
- j. The Repatriation Act of July ii, 1935.

2. When students share their reports, have them list on a master chart (a) ways in which all of the laws and actions were similar, (b) ways in which they were different, and (c) ways in which they discriminated against Asian Americans. Through the use of higher-level questions, help the students derive the key generalization stated previously.

3. Have your students role-play a session of Congress in which the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 is debated. The entire class can participate. However, assign several specific students to lead the debates. For example, ask one student to play the role of a California senator who is anxious to be reelected, and thus is strongly in favor of the act. Ask another student to argue against the act. Before the role-playing begins, read and discuss the act with the class. It is reprinted in Alexander Yamato, Soo-Young Chin, Wendy L. Ng, and Joel Franks (Eds.) (1993). *Asian Americans in the United States* (Vol. 1). Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, pp. 235—240.

When the main speakers start debating, the other class members can participate both by asking them questions and by arguing on the floor. When the discussion of the act is complete, the students should then vote on it. After the voting, the role-playing should be discussed, as well as the actual historical events. The students should discuss why their voting results were similar to or different from that of Congress in 1882 and why. In this activity, try to help the students to create the political and social atmosphere of the late 1800s. One way this can be done is to ask each student to pretend that he or she is a senator from a specific state with a particular mandate from his or her constituency.

4. Ask a group of students to do research and complete Table 13-6. After the students have completed the table, ask them to (a) write a generalization about the percentage of Asian immigrants that came to the United States between 1861 and 1960 and the total number of immigrants that came to the United States during this period; and (b) discuss, using the completed chart, whether White Americans on the West Coast had valid reasons to fear what was called the Yellow Peril. Ask them to discuss "If Whites on the West Coast had no valid reasons to fear a Yellow Peril, why do you think that Asian Americans were the victims of so much hostility and harassment?"

5. Ask the students to read a book on the internment. Recommended books are as follows:

- Yushiku Uchida (1984). *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Charles Kikuchi (1993). *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*. Edited by John Modell. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Deborah Gesensway and Mindy Roseman (1987). *Beyond Words: Images from America's Concentration Camps*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. (Powerful art by artists who were interned.)

6. After they have read a book on the subject, ask them to do the following:

**TABLE 13-6 ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES**

Period	Number	Percentage of all Immigrants
1861-1880		
1881-1900		
1900-1914		
1914-1925		
1925-1940		
1940-1960		
1960-1970		
1970-1980		
1980-1990		

- a. Compare the interpretation of the internment in the book read with the interpretation in a high school American history textbook or some other source.
- b. Discuss why they think the internment occurred.
- c. Discuss the role of the Japanese American Citizenship League during the internment.
- d. Discuss the roles of the following men in the internment:
  - (1) President Franklin D. Roosevelt
  - (2) Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson
  - (3) Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt
  - (4) Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy
  - (5) Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen
  - (6) Major General Allen W. Gullion

7. Role-play a meeting of the men listed above discussing whether the Japanese should be interned during World War II.

8. Discuss the moral implications of the internment, that is: Should the internment have occurred? Why or why not? Who was responsible for the internment? What does the internment teach us about our society? Do you believe that an ethnic minority group could be interned today? Why or why not? Why were the Japanese interned and not the Germans?

9. Ask the students to review the hearing and testimony made before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians and to identify the factors that resulted in the passage of the American Civil Liberties bill in 1988. The hearing and testimony are summarized in Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (1982), *Personal Justice Denied*.

10. To summarize this activity, ask the students to write an essay on “The Meaning of the Internment—Then and Now.”

11. Asian American authors, like other American writers, often express their reactions to and experiences with prejudice and discrimination in their writings. Literary works by Asian Americans can provide students with insights that cannot be gained from factual sources. To help your students understand better the reactions of Asian Americans to discrimination, have the class read and discuss selections from the following books:

- a. John Okada, *No-No Boy*. This is a powerful and well-crafted novel about a Japanese American who refused to fight in World War II.
- b. Carlos Bulosan, *America Is in the Heart*. This is a poignant, beautiful, and revealing book. It can serve as an excellent springboard for a discussion about anti-Filipino discrimination in the United States.
- c. Frank Chin et al., eds. *Aiiieeeee: An Anthology of Asian-American Writers*. This anthology includes stories, poetry, and excerpts from novels.
- d. Asian Women of California, *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian Women*. Part 6 of this excellent anthology is called “Thunderstorms: Injustice.” The readings provide first-hand accounts of the injustice experienced by Asian American women.
- e. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*. An individual who was interned poignantly describes her experiences.

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Chicago: Polychrome Books.

*Erica, a young White girl, visits her friend Nancy's house. Nancy is Chinese American. Erica learns a lot about Chinese culture during her visit. (Primary)*

Hoobler, D. & Hoobler, T. (1994). *The Chinese American Family Album*. New York: Oxford University Press.  
*An excellent, involving, and well-illustrated book. (Middle School/High School)*

Namioka, L. (1995). *Yang the Third and Her Impossible Family*. Illustrated by K. de Kieft. New York: Little, Brown.

*This is the story of a Chinese American teenager trying to be "American." She changes her name to Mary and does other things to be accepted as "American," yet she feels that her family will not cooperate. (Intermediate)*

Nunes, S. M. (1995). *The Last Dragon*. Illustrated by C. K. Soentpiet. New York: Clarion.  
*A young boy sees a dragon in the Lung Fung Trading Co. and wants to bring it to life because his aunt states that it looks tired. With his aunt's help he is successful and turns his summer in Chinatown into an exciting one. (Primary)*

Waters, K. & Slovenz-Low, M. (1990). *Lion Dancer: Ernie Wan's Chinese New Year*. New York: Scholastic.  
*This book describes six-year-old Ernie Wan's life as he prepares for his first Lion's Dance performance. (Primary)*

Yep, L. (1991). *The Lost Garden*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Julian Messner.  
*The author examines his life as a Chinese American boy. (High School)*

Yep, L. (1993). *Dragon's Gate*. New York: Harper.  
*A Chinese immigrant in San Francisco's Chinatown and fellow immigrants board a machine that changes his life. A thrilling*

adventure story. Winner of the Newbery Medal for 1994. (Middle School)

Yep, L. (1995). *Later, Gator*. New York: Hyperion Books for Children.

*A humorous and charming story about two brothers growing up in Chinatown. (Intermediate)*

Yep, L. (1995). *Thief of Hearts*. New York: HarperCollins.

*A sequel to the author's popular Child of the Owl. A story about Stacy, a Chinese American girl, who is torn between her Chinese and American cultures.*

## Japanese Americans

Hamanaka, S. (1990). *The Journey: Japanese Americans, Racism and Renewal*. New York: Orchard Books.

*The author painted a five-panel mural showing her family in the U.S. during the internment. The picture is a bleak one. However, the last panel depicts hope. (Intermediate and Up)*

Hobbler, D. & Hoobler, T. (1995). *The Japanese American Family Album*. New York: Oxford University Press.

*A well-illustrated, informative, and captivating book. (Middle School/High School)*

Japanese American Curriculum Project. (1985). *The Japanese American Journey*. San Mateo, Calif.: AACP.

*Historical and biographical essays are included in this excellent resource book for students in grade 5 through 8. It also includes three well-crafted short stories. (Intermediate/Middle School)*

Kitano, H. H. L. (1995). *The Japanese Americans* (2nd ed). New York: Chelsea House.

*One of the books in "The Immigrant Experience Series." (Intermediate/Middle)*

Leathers, N. L. (1991). *The Japanese in America*. Minneapolis: Lerner.

*An informative historical account of the Japanese experience in the U.S. Illustrated with photographs. (Intermediate)*

Kessler, L. (1994). *Stubborn Twig: Three Generations in the Life of a Japanese American Family*. New York: Plume (Penguin Group).

*The story of three generations of one Japanese American family is told in this book. (High School)*

Minatoya, L. Y. (1992). *Talking to High Monks in the Snow: An Asian American Odyssey*. New York: HarperCollins.

*This is the autobiographical account of a Japanese American woman and her quest for ethnic identity. (High School)*

Mura, P. (1991). *Turning Japanese: Memoirs of a Sansei*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

*This is the author's account of his first trip to Japan as an adult. (High School)*

Smith, P. (1995). *Democracy on Trial: The Japanese American Evacuation and Relocation in World War II*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

*A veteran and widely published historian describes the events and people involved in the internment of the Japanese during World War II. Thorough, comprehensive, and sobering. (Advanced High School)*

Uchida, Y. (1982). *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

*A well-known writer tells the personal story of the internment of her family during World War II in this moving and powerful book. (High School)*

Uchida, Y. (1985). *The Happiest Ending*. New York: Atheneum.

*Rinko Tsujimura learns a valuable lesson when she rejects arranged marriages and tries to bring two people together who she thinks would make the perfect couple. (Intermediate). Other books by Uchida include The Best Bad Thing (Atheneum, 1983); A Jar of Dreams (Atheneum, 1982); and Journey to Topaz (Atheneum, 1985).*

Uchida, Y. (1993). *The Magic Purse*. Illustrated by K. Narahashi. New York: Margaret McEldery Books.  
*A folk tale from Japan about a poor farmer who wins a fortune because he is kind and courageous. (Primary)*

Uchida, Y. (1994). *The Wise Old Woman*. Illustrated by M. Spingett. New York: Margaret McEldery Books.  
*A folk tale from Japan about a cruel young lord who orders that everyone over age seventy be taken to the mountains and left to die. (Primary)*

Westridge Young Writers Workshop. (1994). *Kids Explore America's Japanese American Heritage*. Santa Fe, N.M.: John Muir Publications.  
*Written by children, this book describes various aspects of the Japanese American experience including recipes, family stories, and biographies. (Intermediate)*

Yep, L. (1995). *Hiroshima: A Novella*. New York: Scholastic.  
*Twelve-year-old Sachi and her older sister Riko are walking through the streets when the Enola Gay drops a bomb. Sachi will never see her sister again. Based on a true-life account of survivors of the Hiroshima bombing. A powerful book that should be used with care. (Middle School and Up)*

## Filipino Americans

Bandon, A. (1993). *Filipino Americans*. Morristown, N.J.: Silver Burdett Press.  
*An engaging book for young adults about Filipinos immigrating to the U.S. (Middle School)*

Brainard, C. M. (Ed.). (1993). *Fiction by Filipinos in America*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.  
*A comprehensive literary collection by twenty-three Filipino American authors. (High School)*

Daniels, R. (1990). *Filipino Americans*. New York: Franklin Watts.  
*A sixty-four-page illustrated hook by an eminent historian. (Upper)*

Espiritu, Y. L. (1995). *Filipino American Lives*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.  
*An informative collection of first-person narratives. Pre- and post-1965 immigrants share their sojourns in the U.S. (High School)*

Stern, J. (1989). *The Filipino Americans*. New York: Chelsea House.  
*This 110-page history of the Filipinos in the U.S. is illustrated with color and black-and-white photographs. (Middle School and Up)*

Stern, J. (1990). *The Filipino Americans*. New York: Chelsea House.  
*An illustrated history of Filipino Americans for young readers. (Intermediate)*

Takaki, R. (1994). *In the Heart of Filipino America: Immigrants from the Pacific Isles*. New York: Chelsea House.  
*An informative and well-illustrated history. (Intermediate and Up)*

## SECTION 3—HISTORY BURSTING WITH TELLING: ASIAN AMERICANS IN WASHINGTON STATE

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The following is a curriculum project for the History of the Pacific Northwest in Washington State Schools Developed by the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, Matthew W. Klinge, University of Washington Department of History. It is reproduced here with permission.

### INTRODUCTION

One story of Washington State is a story of immigration, but it is not the simple tale of assimilation or acculturation. Immigrants brought pieces of culture from their native lands to Washington State, where they melded them with pieces taken from American culture. Immigrants did not remain unchanged or melt into a common society, however. Instead, Washington is a mosaic made of different peoples coming together to create new lives in a new land. The Asian American experience is part of this mosaic. The documents that accompany this essay demonstrate how Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos came to Washington, struggled against discrimination, labored to earn their living, and created distinctive cultures and identities. These documents chronicle, in a small way, how some Asian immigrants became Asian Americans.

"Asian American" is, by necessity, a broad term that lumps different peoples together. Because of space restrictions, this project focuses on Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans, the three largest and oldest groups in Washington. Other groups, notably immigrants from Korea, the Pacific Islands, and Southeast Asia, receive limited attention here. It is hoped that students and teachers alike will use this project as a guide for building their own collections on other Asian Americans.

The documents are organized by three general themes: migration, labor, and community. **Migration** is the process of people moving from place to place. Why people move away or are pushed out from where they lived, and why they are pulled to settle somewhere else, are the central questions behind migration. Once in the United States, Asian immigrants often migrated to and from places of work; others, after living abroad for a time, returned to their native lands. Asians, like all immigrants, were a people in motion.

**Labor** refers to the act of working and the social associations that workers create through their shared experience. Most Asians came to Washington State to fill a need for workers in the rapidly developing Pacific Northwest. Limited by discrimination and economic factors, Asian immigrants often worked menial jobs in hazardous industries for little compensation. But work was also a source of group pride and political activism; labor was a catalyst for social and cultural change.

**Community** stands for how Asians and Asian Americans struggled to define their social and cultural place in the larger American society. The creation of community is not a simple process, however. Generational tension, racism, and economic concerns all worked to pull Asian and Asian American communities apart. But these communities, like other immigrant groups in United States history, responded creatively to hardship. Applying for United States citizenship, opening businesses, running for political office or lobbying for social services are just some of the ways that Asians and Asian Americans worked to create dynamic communities in Washington State.



What follows is a brief overview, written to help teachers navigate through this material. Those interested in learning more should consult the bibliography for appropriate books and resources. A timeline of significant dates in Asian American history, with a focus on Washington State, also follows. Additional details for specific documents are provided in the concordance and index included here.

### MIGRATION: MOVING WEST TO EAST

**Migration** is one theme that unites the histories of Asian American peoples in the Pacific Northwest. Like immigrants from Europe during the nineteenth century, Asians were part of a global stream of people flowing into the United States. While Asian immigration reached its high-water mark on the West Coast, it transformed America, adding diversity to an already multicultural society.

The Chinese were the first Asians to migrate in significant numbers to Washington State. In the mid-nineteenth century, China seemed on the verge of collapse. The Taiping Rebellion nearly tore Chinese society apart. British warships devastated China's major ports during the Opium War, and periodic flooding and famine wrecked the countryside. South China, primarily the area around Guangzhou (Canton), suffered the most; and it was from here that the vast majority of immigrants came.

Initially drawn to work in California's gold fields or Hawai'i's sugar plantations, Chinese were also drawn to work in the Pacific Northwest. By the 1860s, news of a gold strike in eastern Washington brought Chinese immigrants here; by the 1870s, Chinese were recruited to work on railroad construction as well as in logging camps and salmon canneries. Immigration was illegal before the 1868 Burlingame Treaty, but labor contractors and immigrants conveniently ignored such restrictions.

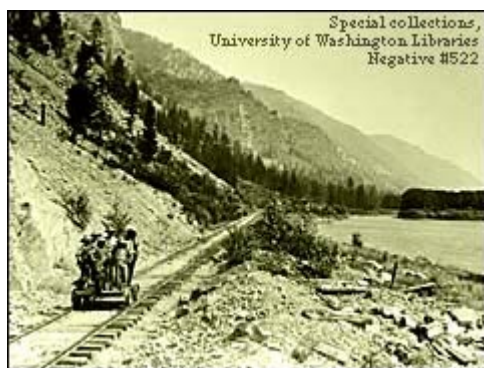
Similar push and pull factors drew Japanese immigrants to Washington State. Following the forcible opening to Western trade in the 1850s, Japanese society underwent wrenching economic and cultural transformations. The Meiji government, bent on industrializing the country as quickly as possible, adopted policies that forced Japanese farmers off of their lands, forcing many to work as migrant laborers on Hawai'iian sugar plantations. By the mid-1880s, Hawai'i relied heavily on Japanese contract labor.

After Hawai'i was annexed by the United States in 1898, and after the passage of the Organic Act in 1900 that created the Territory of Hawai'i, many Japanese living on the islands traveled to the mainland. Others, driven out by worsening economic and social conditions at home, attracted by high pay and a demand for labor in the Pacific Northwest, followed directly from Japan. Like the Chinese before them, Japanese migrants picked produce, cut and milled trees, built railroads and butchered fish.

Filipinos, who arrived in the third wave of Asian immigration to Washington, were a comparatively unique case. The Philippines were an American colony, acquired after the 1898 Spanish-American War, and remained under American jurisdiction until after World War Two. Filipinos were recognized as United States nationals, a status just below full citizenship, and allowed to migrate anywhere within the states.

As with the Chinese and Japanese, Filipino migrants were pushed out by economic hardship at home and pulled to migrate by economic opportunity abroad. Changing land tenure patterns following United States annexation limited prosperity in the Philippines, and labor remained in short supply in the Pacific Northwest. Moreover, Filipinos educated in American-run schools after the war considered themselves American and entitled to all the privileges that entailed. Filipino women married American soldiers and returned with their husbands to the United States; other Filipinos came for jobs in agriculture and the salmon fisheries. By the 1920s, Filipinos were a major segment of Washington's Asian American population.

For many Asian immigrants, working and living in Washington State was a temporary condition. The first wave of Chinese migrants, almost exclusively men, called themselves sojourners; they came to earn income, then return to China with their earnings. Early Japanese and Filipino migration followed a similar pattern. But economic hardship in the United States, together with restrictive labor contracts and new commitments in America, compelled many to stay. The pull of remaining in their new home often overwhelmed the tug of returning to their native country. And for nearly every immigrant who stayed, the opportunity to work in the United States was a major reason why they made their home here.



#### LABOR: BUILDING LIVES IN NEW LANDS

**Labor** is another theme that characterizes the Asian American experience in Washington State. Asian immigrants filled an important need in the resource rich but labor poor Pacific Northwest, providing the muscle that helped to develop the region. Indeed, without Asian labor this region would have remained isolated, undeveloped, and poor well into the twentieth century. Asian immigrants helped to create the transportation links, industries, and wealth that made the Pacific Northwest.

Mining was one of the first industries to employ the Chinese, who prospected for gold along the Columbia River in eastern Washington and hauled coal from pits in Black Diamond, Newcastle, and Renton in western Washington. Chinese laborers also built rail lines that connected the territory to eastern markets; indeed, the Chinese were instrumental in building

almost every major rail connection in Washington before 1900. Likewise, Japanese migrants worked on the railroads, first in construction, later as porters and foremen.

The fisheries were another recipient of Asian labor. The Chinese were the first non-Indian fishermen in Puget Sound, plying their trade with huge seine nets and fish traps, and buying fish from whites and Indians alike. A 1915 state law, forbidding Asian immigrants from commercial fishing, prevented Japanese and Filipino migrants from playing a similar role. But all three groups were instrumental in the salmon canning and oystering industries. From the 1870s to the turn of the century, Chinese workers dominated the West Coast canned salmon industry. As runs in the Columbia River and Puget Sound diminished by the 1890s, the industry turned north toward Alaska. As the Chinese labor pool declined following the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Japanese and Filipinos stepped in. After 1920 Filipinos replaced the Chinese as the primary workers in the canned salmon industry. Called Alaskeros, these Filipinos,



numbering 9,000 strong in the late 1930s, migrated annually from agricultural jobs in western Washington and the Yakima Valley to remote canneries in southeastern and western Alaska.

Farming and logging also benefited from Asian labor. From 1857 to 1889 Chinese built sawmills and logging roads in Kitsap County, and worked in mills in Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, and Seattle. Japanese and Filipinos worked in lumber camps at Mukilteo, Port Blakeley, Tacoma and Bellingham. Farming was perhaps even a larger employer of Asian labor, and also provided many immigrants the opportunity to own their own land. Filipinos and Chinese harvested hops and other produce in south King County and the Yakima Valley.

But the Japanese became most associated with farming, supplying Seattle, Tacoma, and other cities with produce grown on fields in the White River Valley, Bainbridge Island, Vashon Island, and other rural environs. Prior to World War II the Japanese supplied nearly seventy-five percent of western Washington's vegetables and the bulk of its berries and small fruits. Many of the stalls at Seattle's Pike Place Market groaned with produce sold by Japanese truck farmers.

Asian immigrants also opened businesses in Washington cities, concentrating primarily in the service sector. Chinese operated restaurants, laundries, grocery stores and hotels; later Japanese investors followed a similar path, with significant holdings in Seattle's real estate and housing markets. In Seattle, most of these businesses concentrated in the International District, formerly known as Chinatown. There, Chinese merchants established some of Seattle's largest businesses including the Wa Chong Company, which contracted Asian labor for canneries and other industries as well as importing goods to China; and the Quong-Tuck Company, which specialized in international trade with East Asia.

But despite relative economic success, Asian immigrants who stayed in Washington State faced exclusion, discrimination, and violence. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Asian immigration was the subject of extreme controversy nationwide but especially in the Pacific Northwest. Restrictions against immigration, coupled with anti-Asian legislation and racial politics, threatened to all but eliminate Asian communities in the Pacific Northwest and nationwide. Yet resistance to discrimination was a crucial component in the strengthening of these communities. Out of resistance, new identities were born.



#### COMMUNITY: FROM SEGREGATION, IDENTITY

**Community** is a broad theme that encompasses both the hostility Asians faced by white society as well as their ability to create new societies in the United States. It is the process by which Asians identified themselves as Americans. Ironically, this process begins with discrimination. Singled out by white Americans because of their putative "racial" characteristics, Asians relied on their own institutions and initiative to advance their interests. In resisting discrimination, Asians found opportunities to build community -- and opportunities to claim America as theirs.

Asian immigrants faced discrimination almost upon arrival in the Pacific Northwest. In 1853, the newly created Washington territorial legislature barred Chinese from voting; later legislation enacted poll taxes and restrictions on testifying in court cases against whites. These laws were modeled on similar legislation in California (which remained the most popular destination for Chinese immigrants well into the late nineteenth century). As agitation against the Chinese escalated on the West Coast, national lawmakers began to take notice. Eventually, Congress, bowing to public pressure and prevailing racial stereotypes, acted to limit the immigration of Chinese labor.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 set the tone for later laws designed to exclude further Asian immigration. It also fundamentally altered the shape of Asian communities in the United States by banning women immigrants. By 1890, the ratio of men to women among Chinese Americans nationwide was approximately thirty to one; not until 1940 would the ratio drop to less than two to one. In Washington State, the Exclusion Act permanently stunted Chinese American communities, which were never able to rival similar groups in San Francisco or Vancouver, British Columbia. The Exclusion Act became an instrument of violence against Chinese. The anti-Chinese movement that swept across the American West was especially extreme in Washington. An economic depression in the mid-1880s, which left white workers competing for dwindling jobs, fueled animosity. In 1885, white Tacoma residents expelled 700 Chinese (some forcibly) from that city and torched Chinese residences and businesses; the next year, Seattle residents hauled their Chinese neighbors by wagon to waiting steamers. Elsewhere, whites attacked Chinese in Walla Walla and Pasco.

Japanese and Filipino immigrants became the next targets. Since 1789, nonwhites from overseas could not become citizens; the question now swung on who could immigrate to the United States. The 1907-08 "Gentleman's Agreement" between Japan and the United States prohibited further male immigration but allowed in women, along with relatives and children of Japanese aliens living in the United States. The category "aliens ineligible to citizenship," dating from 1789, used race to restrict naturalization. The 1924 National Origins Act, which distinguished Asians from

other immigrant groups, extended this logic and further restricted all Asian immigration. The 1924 law left the door open for Filipinos, however, who were U.S. nationals. But the new act severely limited Japanese and Chinese immigration for over four decades.

Upheld by legal precedent, the 1924 act had local effects on Asians living in Washington. The 1889 state constitution, in Section 33 of Article II, already prohibited resident aliens from owning land. In 1921 and 1922, the rule was extended to leasing, renting, and sharecropping of land. The 1924 Act sanctioned further discrimination, especially against the growing Filipino population. Filipinos themselves were the object of racist fears over mixed marriages and dwindling jobs. In 1927, whites expelled Filipino farmers from Toppenish in the Yakima Valley. In 1933, white farmers and workers in Wapato demanded that area growers stop hiring Filipino workers.

Again, as with the Chinese and Japanese, federal action spurred greater discrimination in the states. Filipino immigration was virtually stopped in 1934 by the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which made the Philippines a commonwealth and promised full independence within a decade. Filipinos, now defined as resident aliens, were limited to a quota of fifty annually. But attacks and recrimination against Filipinos did not end there. Filipinos, who married white women in numbers larger than their Chinese and Japanese counterparts, aroused the ire of whites obsessed with racial purity. In 1937, the Washington Legislature tried to pass a law banning mixed race marriages. Filipinos were added as resident aliens under state law in 1938; and the anti-alien land laws directed against them and other Asian Americans were not repealed until 1966.

Perhaps the ultimate expression of racial fears against Asians was the internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, bowing to public pressure on the West Coast, signed Executive Order 9066, calling for the removal of all persons of Japanese descent from coastal areas (except Hawai'i). Claiming military necessity, Japanese and Japanese Americans were forcibly expelled from their homes and businesses; no action of similar magnitude was taken against German Americans or Italian Americans. Most of those evacuated were American citizens, born in the United States and fully entitled to constitutional rights and privileges. Most Washington residents were relocated to Minidoka located near Hunt, Idaho; other West Coast Japanese went to inland concentration camps in California, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona and Arkansas.

Japanese internment did not go unchallenged, however. Gordon Hirabayashi, a University of Washington student, was charged with resisting evacuation orders; his conviction was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1943. But despite the obvious injustice of internment, many American-born Japanese, known collectively as "Nisei," volunteered for combat duty in Europe. The all-Nisei 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team were some of the most highly decorated units in American military history. Yet not until 1988 did the federal government apologize and remunerate internee survivors and their families.

Even under the harsh circumstances of concentration camps, Japanese Americans relied on community organization to endure. Interned Japanese formed consumer cooperatives, baseball teams, and literary societies. Such responses were rooted in long-standing experience with adversity. Prior to the war, Japanese in Washington came together through *kenjinkai*, social associations that drew members who came from the same village or county in Japan. *Kenjinkai* helped new immigrants find jobs, make business contacts, and practice speaking their native language. Local branches of the Japanese Association of North America ran Japanese language schools. Most of these organizations catered to the foreign-born generation, or Issei. American-born Japanese, or Nisei, established the Japanese American Citizens League to promote unity and lobby for civil rights. Sports, too, were another part of the Japanese community network, with baseball a widely popular pastime. Japanese communities throughout the Pacific Northwest fielded baseball teams and played against white competitors. Religion played a part, too, as Christian and Buddhist churches provided spiritual and social comfort.

The Chinese, though smaller in number, also relied on community organizations to strengthen ethnic ties in Washington. Family associations, district associations similar to the *kenjinkai*, and tongs (secretive fraternal orders that also served as trade guilds) formed the framework of the Chinese community. Concentrated primarily in Seattle, benevolent family associations like the Gee How Oak Tin offered business loans, language instruction, and social activities to eligible members. In 1910, Seattle Chinese chartered the Chong Wa Benevolent Association, a coalition of local groups and businesses, to administer Chinatown politics and support Chinese causes. Prominent businessmen like Chin Gee Hee and Ah King, both labor contractors, protected new immigrants while establishing important ties with white Seattle elites. And churches, notably the Chinese Baptist Church on Seattle's First Hill, also served to unite immigrants and older residents through ministry and community outreach.

Filipinos, largely comprised of bachelors, also found community through adversity. Large groups of single men created new "families" based on local affiliations from the Philippines. Often, Filipino women served as surrogate mothers, aunts, and sisters for men with no immediate family in the United States. Filipinos were also active in the labor movement, organizing unions to protect their interests. The harsh conditions of canning salmon inspired Filipino workers to form the Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union Local 18257 in Seattle in 1933. One of the most militant unions on the West Coast during the Depression, the CWFLU struggled to shield Alaskeros from exploitation.

Unions and social clubs also fought against restrictive land and property laws. The Filipino Community of Yakima County, Inc., after protracted battles, eventually secured leasing rights on the Yakima Indian reservation, a privilege already granted to whites. In 1939, Pio DeCano, a recent immigrant, successfully fought the 1937 Washington State alien land law all the way to the state Supreme Court. Perhaps more than any other Asian immigrant group, Filipinos made their greatest gains through legal challenges and union organization. And as with other Asian communities, religion, notably the Roman Catholic Church, drew Filipinos together in a common faith.

The postwar period saw the beginnings of a newer sense of identity, however, one based on a hybrid sense of Asian and American heritage. In 1952, immigrants were allowed to become naturalized citizens but restrictions against Asian immigration remained. Reforms to immigration law, culminating in the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, spurred a sharp increase in Asian immigration. Newer immigrants from Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands added greater complexity to Washington's Asian community. New faces forced old residents to confront the issue of who passed as American -- and who passed as immigrant.

The civil rights movement, spearheaded by African Americans in the South, also affected ethnic politics in Washington State. In Seattle's Central District, where Asian Americans and African Americans had lived in close proximity for nearly six decades, community leaders crossed ethnic lines to fight together for public housing, tenant rights, election reform and employment opportunities. While ties between Seattle's Black and Asian communities frayed by the late 1960s, the city was unique on the West Coast for its multiethnic civil rights campaigns.

Asian Americans, long stereotyped as passive laborers, also made political inroads of their own as well. They became an increasingly vocal constituency in Washington State politics. In 1963, Wing Luke became the first Chinese American elected to the Seattle City Council; Ruby Chow, the first Chinese American woman, was elected in 1973; and in 1996 Gary Locke, then King County Executive, was elected as the first Chinese American governor on the mainland United States. Such victories were made possible by political coalitions that united Asian Americans of all orientations. In political as well as cultural terms, Asians began referring to themselves as Asian Americans, or Asian/Pacific Americans, reflecting an identity that transcended previous ethnic bonds.

But the growing diversity of the Asian American community also threatened this communal harmony. Resettlement of Cambodians, Laotians, Vietnamese, and Hmong refugees introduced new problems. In 1960, two-thirds of the state's Asian Americans were native born; by 1980, two-thirds were foreign born. Most of these refugees settled in areas with an established Asian presence, usually in Seattle, Tacoma, and the Yakima Valley. Fleeing war and extreme poverty, they faced the residue of anti-Asian feeling; moreover, they often faced resentment from those Asians already established in the United States.

Generational and class conflicts also divided and split communities. By the 1970s, Asian Americans nationwide were hailed as the "model minority" because of their academic achievement and gains in the workplace. But such gains often masked deep tensions between young Asian Americans, who seemed to assimilate fully into traditionally white institutions, and older Asian Americans, who worried about the survival of old ways and customs. The relative achievement of some also masked the difficulties facing newer arrivals from Southeast Asia, Korea, China and the Pacific Islands.

Despite such tensions, however, Asian American communities are indisputably central to Washington's social and cultural fabric. Discrimination continues but its effects are blunted by the prominence of Asian Americans in business, politics, the arts and education. Compared to the blatant racism of a century earlier, Asian Americans have achieved remarkable gains. Still, the dynamics of community building continue. As before, the forces that rip communities apart also are the source for their renewal. Seen one way, divisions within the Asian American community over language instruction, immigration policy, and social welfare are tears in the social fabric. Seen from another angle, they are the seams that bind communities together.

## CONCLUSION

Today, Asian/Pacific Islander immigrants and Asian Americans in Washington are citizens not sojourners. They have been and will remain an integral part of the state's diverse history.

Migration brought Asians to the Pacific Northwest, labor defined their social status while providing opportunities for advancement, and communities emerged out of struggles to preserve old customs in new places. While Asians faced persistent, often brutal, discrimination they were not merely victims. Instead, they made their own history and influenced the history of others. As scholar Ronald Takaki says, their "history bursts with telling." These documents are only fragments of their stories.





## RELATED MATERIALS/OUTSIDE CLASSROOM

If teachers want to expand upon the materials offered here, or study a particular topic or theme in greater depth, the following bibliography suggests several useful books. Additionally, the suggested videos are another way to engage students with Asian American history. Some are documentaries while others are fictional accounts. All are suitable for



middle and high school students.

Several suggestions for outside materials or outings beyond the classroom conclude this section.

### Bibliography -- Selected Books

Chan, Sucheng. *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne, 1991).

A solid general survey of Asian Americans, with a strong focus on Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino communities. Good discussion of gender and immigrant communities, but not as rich as Takaki for anecdotes and quotations.

Chin, Doug and Art Chin. *Up Hill: The Settlement and Diffusion of the Chinese in Seattle, Washington* (Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1973).

*One of the first works on the Chinese community in Seattle. While difficult to find in many libraries, it contains good information on the 19th century.*

Cordova, Fred. *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans: A Pictorial Essay, 1763-1963* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1983).

A general survey of Filipinos in the United States, with special focus on the Pacific Northwest and West Coast. Good for anecdotes, pictures, and quotations.

Daniels, Roger. *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988).

Based on archival records and secondary literature, this is one of the better historical surveys available. Useful charts and maps show demographic changes and immigrant characteristics. Concentrates on the West Coast, with good material on Washington and the Pacific Northwest; but nothing on Filipinos in America. One of the first major works to dispel earlier scholarship characterizing Asian Americans as victims.

Daniels, Roger. *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

One of the best short histories of Japanese internment. Probably suitable for upper-division high school classes.

Erickson, Edith E. *From Sojourner to Citizen: Chinese of the Inland Empire* (Colfax, Wash.: E.E. Erickson and E. Ng, 1989).

Locally-written history of Chinese on the Columbia River Plateau. Good anecdotal information and sources, but best used alongside one of the more scholarly surveys listed here.

Friday, Chris. *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Canned Salmon Industry 1870-1940* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

The best book available on this important Pacific Northwest industry that relied on Asian American laborers. Strong, vivid descriptions of canning work coupled with detailed analysis of cannery life and union activities during the 1920s and 1930s.

Kim, Hyung-Chun, ed. *Dictionary of Asian American History* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

Useful reference book for major dates, names, and themes in Asian American history. Best used in conjunction with one of the surveys listed here.

Nomura, Gail M. "Washington's Asian/Pacific American Communities," in *Peoples of Washington: Perspectives on Cultural Diversity* edited by Sid White and S. E. Solberg. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1989), 113-156.

A very useful overview of Asian Americans in Washington State, commissioned for the centennial year celebration.

O'Brien, David J. and Stephen S. Fugita. *The Japanese American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

A survey of Japanese immigration and Japanese American community building, with a strong focus on California. Some material on the Pacific Northwest and Washington State.

Melendy, H. Brett. *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians* (Boston: Twayne, 1977).

One of the few general surveys of Filipino Americans (as well as Korean Americans and East Indian Americans). Some material on Filipinos in Washington State, but best used in conjunction with Cordova's book, which provides more anecdotes and visual material.

Okihiro, Gary. *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994).

Okihiro argues that Asian American identity emerged from their position on the margins of American society. Their experience, he claims, has in turn shaped American notions of culture and democracy. Good for analysis of how Asian American identity emerged and changed over time.

Takaki, Ronald. *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1989).

Another useful historical survey that also includes information on Korean, South, and Southeast Asian immigrants. Takaki quotes extensively from literature and oral interviews, making the book useful for anecdotes and examples.

Taylor, Quintard. *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994).

While Taylor concentrates primarily on Seattle African Americans, the book has information on the connections between Blacks and Asians. Also a useful model for thinking about how communities are created and changed over time.

#### Bibliography -- Selected Videos

*A Personal Matter: Gordon Hirabayashi vs. the United States*. (San Francisco: CrossCurrentMedia/National Asian American Telecommunications Association, 1992). 30 min.

Documents the 43-year struggle of Gordon Hirabayashi, a Japanese American who challenged the legality of the 1942 evacuation order and subsequent internment.

*East of Occidental*. (Seattle: Prairie Fire, 1986). 29 min

A visual history of Seattle's International District (formerly Chinatown) as told through interviews with local residents.

*Dim Sum: A Little Bit of Heart*. (Beverly Hills: Pacific Arts Video, 1987). 88 min.

Directed by Wayne Wang, this is a humorous look at how a contemporary Chinese American family in San Francisco negotiates living as Chinese in a white society.

*Filipino Americans: Discovering their Past for the Future*. (Seattle: Filipino American National Historical Society, 1988). 54 min.

Documentary survey of Filipino and Filipino American history in the United States. A good companion to Cordova's book on the Filipinos cited above.

*Home from the Eastern Sea*. (Seattle: KCTS Television, 1989). 58 min.

A brief survey of the history, culture, and accomplishments of the Asian Pacific Islander communities in Washington State. A good survey designed for classroom use.

*The Great Pinoy Boxing Era*. (San Francisco: National Asian American Telecommunications Association/CrossCurrent Media, 1995). 32 min.

Documentary of the golden age of Filipino boxing during the 1920s and 1930s. Discusses how Filipino boxers changed Western boxing techniques and styles; and how they served as role models for the mostly male Filipino American community.

*Slaying the Dragon*. (San Francisco: National Asian American Telecommunications Association/CrossCurrent Media, 1984). 60 min.

Discusses the historical and contemporary experiences of Asian American women in the workplace, at school, and in their communities.

*Who Killed Vincent Chin?* (New York: Filmmakers Library, 1988). 83 min.

Documentary of the 1982 murder of Vincent Chin, a 27-year old Chinese American who was the victim of a racially-motivated attack in Detroit. An effective classroom tool for discussions of prejudice generally or anti-Asian, especially anti-Japanese, sentiment.

*With Silk Wings.* (San Francisco: National Asian American Telecommunications Association/CrossCurrent Media, 1984). 120 min.

Discusses the historical and contemporary experiences of Asian American women in the workplace, at school, and in their communities.

*Yellow Tale Blues.* (New York: Filmmakers Library, 1990). 30 min.

Short documentary of Asians living in America through interviews with two families interspersed with images and stereotypes of Asians as portrayed in popular culture and film.

### Community Resources (Seattle)

**DENSHO: The Japanese American Legacy Project** (1414 South Weller, Seattle, WA 98144).

An archive of video taped interviews, photos, maps and other historical documents on the pre- through post-war Japanese American experience. A well catalogued, digital data base is in process. For more info, call (206) 320-0095.

**Filipino American National Historical Society** (810 18th Avenue, Seattle).

Located in the Central District, FANHS holds the largest collection of Filipino and Filipino American documents, oral histories, and ephemera on the West Coast. A good source for materials and information on Filipinos in Washington State.

**National Archives and Records Administration.**

Chinese Immigration and Chinese in the United States: Records in the Regional Archives of the National Archives and Records Administration. Compiled by Waverly B. Lowell. Reference Information Paper #99, 1996.

This document summarizes the various records available in the National Archives where information on the Chinese is found. Government agencies included are: District Courts, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Customs Service, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Public Health Service, United States Attorneys, U.S. Court of Appeals, and United States Marshals Service. Information on National Archives Chinese materials is also available on-line. (<http://www.nara.gov/nara/regional/holdings/chirip.html>)

**Seattle Asian Art Museum** (1400 East Prospect, Seattle).

Located in Seattle's Volunteer Park, SAAM, which was the original building for the Seattle Art Museum, has collections in East and South Asian painting, sculpture, textiles and other media. Superb tours and educational materials are available to interested teachers. Occasional exhibits by Asian American artists.

**Wing Luke Asian Museum** (407 7th South, Seattle, 206-623-5124).

The Wing Luke, named to honor the late Seattle City Councilman, is both museum and community center for the International District. "One Song, Many Voices: The Asian Pacific American Experience," a permanent exhibit, surveys the history of Asian Pacific Islanders in the Northwest. WLAM also offers tours, outreach kits for classroom use, and discounted lunches at neighboring restaurants for interested tour groups.



## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

The following activities use this document packet along with other suggested materials.

1. Before even beginning with the curriculum materials, ask students why there are Asian Americans in your town. Then, take your local phone book and find several common Asian American names (e.g., Nguyen, Locke). Ask students what they notice about the names listed -- where they live, their first name, how many there are -- in the book. Ask students if they know of Asian Americans that live in their neighborhood. (You can also use the Yellow Pages to find Asian-owned businesses.) The question of why and how Asians came to live in Washington State today links the documents to the present.
2. Using the maps in the packet, divide students into groups. Students can ask why Asian groups immigrated to the United States; what region of the US contains the largest Asian American population; and what Asian American groups live where and in what numbers. Then ask students to find documents that could help historians to make such a map.
3. Hold a debate on immigration policy, either in the present or based on historical documents. Divide students into groups, then assign them positions either for or against Asian immigration. You can have them debate the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act; or they can discuss restricting immigration today. You might want to have some students play immigrants, pleading their case.
4. Have students uncover their own immigrant past. Ask them to research their family history and create a genealogy or family tree. Have them include interviews with family members, together with family stories, in their project. Students can share their immigrant past with the class, opening discussion as to who came to the United States, when, from where and why.
5. Hold another debate -- this one on the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII. Have students play historical actors -- Gordon Hirabayashi, General J.L. DeWitt -- and ask them to defend or attack the removal of Japanese and Japanese Americans from the West Coast in 1942.
6. Using the immigration documents, chart the path of how immigrants enter, work, and become citizens of the United States. Ask students to reenact this process; another role playing game using the materials in the packet.
7. Ask students to create an imaginary travel brochure selling the United States to potential immigrants. This brochure might emphasize jobs on the railroads or in salmon canneries. Then ask other students to develop a warning to potential immigrants, highlighting the problems with racism, physical violence, and separation from loved ones.
8. Have students study the demographic data from the maps and charts, asking them to discuss different ways of presenting statistical information. Then, find statistics from the 1970, 1980, and 1990 Census Reports for Washington State (or the United States), and ask them to graph the data and interpret the results.
9. Ask students how they define themselves. Have them create a name describing their identity (e.g., Chinese American, Norwegian American). Write this name on a sheet of paper, which they wear as a label, then have them introduce themselves to one another, explaining what their identity means. Afterwards, discuss what positive and negative things we associate with labels that people give themselves.
10. Compare the experiences of men and women, or of different immigrant groups, using the documents. Students can choose documents from one group or another and write imaginary letters home, diary entries, or poetry, trying to speak as a representative from a particular group describing their experiences.
11. Write a news story about a significant event involving Asian Americans in Northwest history -- the expulsion of the Japanese in 1942, the anti-Chinese "riots" in Seattle and Tacoma, the election of Gary Locke as Washington State governor, to name a few suggestions. Then, ask them to deliver their story to the class, television style, followed by a discussion.
12. Ask students to name prominent Asian Americans, nationally and in the Pacific Northwest. Then assign students to research their history, background, and contributions.

## **SECTION 4—ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN HISTORY: SELECTED DATES & EVENTS**

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- 1587** Filipino sailors land in Morro Bay, San Luis Obispo County, California; among the first Asian to cross the Pacific Ocean for the North American continent due to the Manila galleon trade between Mexico and the Philippines.
- 1600s** Filipinos and Chinese reach Mexico aboard Spanish galleons on trade route between Manila, Philippines and Acapulco, Mexico.
- 1700s** Filipino seamen jump off of Spanish galleon ships and create towns in the Louisiana bayous.
- 1849** Gold is discovered in California. First wave of Chinese immigration to the U.S.
- 1853** Territorial law passes banning Chinese from voting in Washington State.
- 1868** Burlingame-Seward Treaty allows free immigration between the U.S. and China.
- 1869** First transcontinental railroad is completed. Chinese workers lay an estimated 90% of the track. No official group photos of laborers include them.
- 1882** Chinese Exclusion Act excludes Chinese immigration to the U.S. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce allows Koreans to immigrate to the U.S.
- 1886** Washington State passes the Alien Land Law barring Asians from owning land.
- 1888** Scott Act prohibits reentry of Chinese laborers who left the U.S. to visit families and homeland.
- 1889** Washington becomes a state.
- 1890s** Japanese laborers arrive in the Pacific Northwest.
- 1892** The Geary Act extends Chinese exclusion for another ten years, extends it again for another 10 years in 1902, and indefinitely extends it in 1904.
- 1898** The U.S. annexes Hawaii. The U.S. acquires the Philippines and Guam as a result of the Spanish–American War. Wong Kim Ark, born of Chinese parents, wins Supreme Court case establishing that a person born in the U.S. is a citizen regardless of parentage.
- 1899-1902** The Philippine-American War becomes America's first colonial war.
- 1900-1910** Seattle Chinatown develops. First waves of Filipinos, Koreans, and South Asians to the U.S.
- 1906** San Francisco excludes Japanese, Korean, and Chinese children from public school. Federal courts stop issuing naturalization papers to Japanese.
- 1907-1908** "Gentlemen's Agreement" limits Japanese immigration to parents, wives, and children of males already here. Japanese "picture brides" come to America.
- 1909-1934** Second wave of Filipinos to the U.S.
- 1910** Picture brides from Korea arrive in Hawaii.
- 1917** Asiatic Barred Zone prevents Asians except Filipinos and Japanese from coming to the U.S.
- 1920** Large scale Filipino immigration as farm workers begins.
- 1921** Washington State enacts the Alien Land Act preventing non-citizens and those ineligible for citizenship from owning or leasing land.
- 1923** Filipino boxer Francisco Guilledo becomes the flyweight champion of the world. *Bhagat Singh Thind v. The U.S.* rules that Asian Indians are ineligible for citizenship.
- 1924** National Origins Act prohibits immigration of most Asians.
- 1925** *Hidemitsu v. The U.S.* Supreme Court rules that a Japanese person cannot be naturalized.
- 1929** Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) is formed by the West Coast Nisei.
- 1930** Nearly 3,000 Filipinos working in Alaskan canneries.

- 1933** Filipinos are ruled ineligible for citizenship and are barred from immigrating to the U.S.
- 1934** Tydings–McDuffie Act makes the Philippines a commonwealth, lays out procedures for Philippine independence, and limits Filipino immigration to 50 per year.
- 1937** Alien land restrictions in Washington State are extended to Filipinos.
- 1941** Washington State Supreme Court rules in favor of Pio DeCano who in 1939 challenged the 1937 amendment to Washington State Alien Land Law prohibiting Filipinos from owning and leasing land. Japan attacks the U.S. Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The U.S. declares war against Japan. Japanese forces invade the Philippines. Thousands of Filipinos fight beside American soldiers in the Philippines.
- 1942** President Franklin D. Roosevelt changes draft laws. Forty percent of California’s Filipino population registers for the draft. The First and Second Filipino Infantry regiments form. President Roosevelt signs Executive Order (EO) 9066, calling for the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry living on the Pacific Coast to internment camps. Fifty-four Japanese American families are forcibly removed from Bainbridge Island and are sent to the Manzanar relocation center in California, becoming the first to be interned under EO 9066. Seattle native Gordon Hirabayashi defies curfew and evacuation orders and turns himself in to the FBI to challenge EO 9066. In December, protests break out at the Manzanar center.
- 1943** 442<sup>nd</sup> Combat Unit made up of Japanese Americans forms and becomes the most highly decorated single unit that fought in World War II. As members of the armed forces, Filipinos are allowed to become U.S. citizens. 1,200 Filipino soldiers stand proudly in “V” formation at Camp Beale as citizenship is conferred on them. Congress repeals the Chinese Exclusion Act but allows only 105 immigrants per year.
- 1945** Japanese American soldiers help liberate Dachau, a Nazi concentration camp in Germany. World War II ends. War Brides Act facilitates the entry of Asian wives of men in the U.S. armed forces.
- 1946** Luce-Cellar Bill allows small immigration quotas and grants naturalization rights to Asian Indians and Filipinos. President Harry S. Truman signs the Filipino Naturalization Bill allowing Filipinos to become citizens. The Philippines gains its independence. Wing F. Ong is elected to the Arizona House of Representatives and becomes the first Asian American to become a state legislator.
- 1947** Second wave of South Asian immigration begins. War Brides Act is amended to allow Chinese American veterans to bring their brides to the U.S.
- 1948** Sammy Lee, a Korean American diver, wins an Olympic gold medal in platform diving. He wins a second one in 1952 and becomes the first man to win diving titles at two consecutive Olympics.
- 1950s** Guamanians and Samoans begin to arrive in the U.S.
- 1950** *With Haruye v. The People*, the Supreme Court of California finds the state’s Alien Land Act violates the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.
- 1950-1953** The Korean War marks the beginning of the second wave of Korean immigration to the U.S.
- 1952** The McCarran-Walter Act repeals the racial restriction of the 1790 Naturalization Law. First generation Japanese receive the right to become naturalized citizens. Immigration and Nationality Act eliminates race as a bar to immigration and naturalization; token quotas remain. *Fujii Sei v. State of California* rules that Alien Land Law is unconstitutional.
- 1956** Dalip Singh Saund, a South Asian from California, becomes first Asian to be elected to Congress. California repeals its 43-year-old Alien Land Act. Filipino American author Carlos Bulosan (*America is in the Heart*) dies and is buried in Seattle.
- 1959-1975** Vietnam War, the end of which marks the migrations of Southeast Asians to the U.S.
- 1959** Hawaii becomes 50th state. Hiram Fong and Daniel Inouye become the first APAs elected to Congress.
- 1960** Wing Luke is elected to Seattle City Council and becomes the first Asian American elected official in the Pacific Northwest. United Savings & Loan Bank in Seattle becomes the first Asian American-owned savings and loan institution in the U.S. dedicated to helping Asian families who had difficulty getting loans from other banks.
- 1964** Japanese American Patsy Takemoto Mink is elected as a U.S. representative from Hawaii and becomes first Asian American woman to serve in Congress.

- 1965** Immigration Act of 1965 eliminates “national origin” quotas. Third wave of Filipino, Koreans and South Asian immigration begins.
- 1967** The Wing Luke Asian Museum is established in Seattle, Washington.
- 1972** Northwest Asian American Theatre is founded in Seattle. Asian American community activists use the decision to build the King Dome near the International District in Seattle to call attention to the economic, social and physical decay of the International District. Governor Evans creates the state’s Asian Advisory Council by executive order.
- 1974** The International Examiner, a Seattle-based Asian American newspaper, is established. Enter the Dragon is released starring Bruce Lee, a Chinese American actor and martial artist, who dies that same year. Washington State creates The State of Washington Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs, replacing the State Asian Advisory Council. In 1995, the Commission’s name changes to include Pacific Islanders. *Lau v. Nichols* establishes precedent-setting bilingual education programs nationwide.
- 1975** First wave of Vietnamese, Cambodians, Hill Tribes (Hmong, Mien, and Kmhmu) of Laos, the Cham and other Southeast Asians arrive after the fall of Saigon.
- 1978** Second wave of Vietnamese to the U.S. begins.
- 1980s** Refugee Act passes and classifies refugees as those who flee a country because of persecution "on account of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion." Second wave refugees from the Hill Tribes of Laos to the U.S.
- 1981** Commission on Wartime Relocation finds that World War II Japanese internment was a “grave injustice” caused by “race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership.” Filipino American labor activists and union reformists Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo of Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union are murdered in Seattle.
- 1984-1987** Fred Korematsu’s and Gordon Hirabayashi’s convictions for challenging the Japanese American curfew and evacuation during World War II are overturned.
- 1987** Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1987 facilitates immigration of Amerasian children and certain members of their families. Third wave of Vietnamese immigration to the U.S. begins.
- 1988** President Reagan signs the Civil Liberties Act, authorizing \$125 billion in reparations payments to Japanese American survivors of World War II internment camps.
- 1989** Chinese American Michael Chang becomes the youngest tennis player to become French Open and Grand Slam champion at age seventeen.
- 1992** 2,300 small businesses are destroyed in Koreatown during the Los Angeles riots. The Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance is founded in Washington, D.C. and forms the first national Asian Pacific American labor group, a subgroup of the AFL–CIO.
- 1993** After a 36–day hunger strike in May, University of California Asian American students get the administrations to agree to establish an Asian American studies program.
- 1996** Gary Locke becomes Washington State’s 21st governor and the first Asian American governor on the U.S. mainland. The TIME magazine’s 1996 Man of the Year is Dr. David Ho for his groundbreaking research efforts on the AIDS virus. Sports Illustrated Sportsman of the Year is golfer Tiger Woods. He refers to his ethnicity as “Cablinasian”, an ethnic blend of Caucasian, Black, American Indian, and Asian.
- 1997** Kalpana Chawla joins the crew of the Columbia Space Shuttle and becomes the first South Asian American astronaut in space.
- 1998** President Clinton commemorates May as Asian Pacific American Heritage Month for the nation.
- 1999** Washington State has the highest number of Asian Pacific American elected state officials in the U.S. mainland. Approximately 10 million Asian Pacific Americans living in the U.S.
- 2000** Senator Paull Shin, the first Korean American Washington State senator, sponsors successful legislation to declare May of each year as Asian Pacific Heritage Month for Washington State.
- 2000** Japanese American Norman Yoshio Mineta becomes the first Asian American member of the U.S. cabinet
- 2000** Chinese American Bill Lann Lee becomes the first Asian American to head the U.S. Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division

## **SECTION 5—ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN FIRSTS**

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### Arts

- 1921** Chinese American Anna May Wong — first Asian American movie star with the movie *Bits of Life*
- 1957, 1963** Chinese American James Wong Howe — first Asian American to win two Academy Awards in cinematography
- 1965** Japanese American Mako — founded East West Players, the first Asian American theater in the U.S.
- 1973** Japanese American Seiji Ozawa — first person of Asian ancestry and youngest person to serve as director and conductor of Boston Symphony Orchestra, one of America's major orchestras
- 1978-1981** Japanese American Toshiko Akiyoshi — first woman in jazz history to be awarded the Best Arranger and Best Big Jazz Band by *Down Beat* Reader's Poll; received award for four consecutive years
- 1985** Cambodian American Haing Ngor — first Asian American to win an Academy Award for his role in the *Killing Fields*
- 1988** Chinese American Bradley Darryl Wong — first Asian American actor to receive awards from Actor's Equity, Theatre World, Outer Critics, and Drama Desk; won a Tony Award as best featured actor for his performance in *M Butterfly*
- 1994** Korean American and comedian Margaret Cho — first Asian American to star in her own television show, *All-American Girl*, a sitcom about a Korean American family

### Civics & Government

- 1956** South Asian American Dalip Singh Saund — first Asian American to be elected to the U.S. Congress; forged a measure through Congress that allowed Indians to become U.S. citizens
- 1959** Chinese American Hiram Fong — first American of Asian descent to be elected to the U.S. Senate when he was chosen as Hawaii's first senator
- 1962** Benjamin Menor — first Filipino to serve in the U.S. legislature (Hawaii State Senate)
- 1962** Chinese American Wing Luke — first Asian American elected official in the Pacific Northwest when he became a Seattle City Council member
- 1965** Hawaiian and Japanese American Patsy Takemoto Mink — first Asian Pacific American woman elected to the U.S. Congress
- 1971** Korean American Herbert Choy — first Asian Pacific American appointed to be a judge in a federal court; first lawyer of Korean descent to practice law in the U.S.
- 1974** Japanese American George R. Ariyoshi — first American of Japanese descent to become governor or any state (Hawaii)
- 1985** Filipina American Irene Natividad — first Asian American woman to head a national women's organization (National Women's Political Caucus)
- 1987** South Asian American Joy Cherian — first Asian American appointed to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
- 1989** Chinese American Julia Chang Bloch — first Asian American ambassador in the history of the U.S. diplomatic core
- 1990** Indian American Shirin R. Tahir-Kheli — first Asian American and Muslim ambassador to represent the U.S. at the United Nations; first Muslim senior government official appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate
- 1990** Daniel K. Akaka — first native Hawaiian to serve the U.S. Congress; 1993, worked to get a congressional joint resolution that formally apologized to Hawaiians for the 1893 overthrow of the islands' native government
- 1993** Filipina American Velma Veloria — first Asian American woman in the Washington State legislature
- 1995** Filipina American Sumi Sevilla Haru — first Asian American to head an international union (AFL-CIO)
- 1996** Chinese American Gary Locke — first Asian American governor on the U.S. mainland; 1993, first Asian American to head a county (King County, Washington) government in the U.S. mainland



- 1999** Korean American Paull Shin — first Asian American senator in Washington State
- 2000** Japanese American Norman Yoshio Mineta — first Asian American member of the U.S. presidential cabinet
- 2000** Chinese American Bill Lann Lee — first Asian American to head the U.S. Justice Department's Civil Rights Division

### Education

- 1967** Japanese American Ron Takaki — joined the faculty of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) to teach the school's first African American history course; helped found UCLA's centers for African American, Asian American, Chicano, and Native American studies
- 1989** Japanese American Alan Sugiyama — first Asian American elected to the Seattle Public School Board, governing the largest school district in Washington State
- 1990** Chinese American Chang-Lin Tien — first Asian American to head a major university when named the Chancellor of University of California, Berkeley
- 2000** Japanese American Aki Kurose — first Asian American woman to have a Seattle Public School, Washington State, named in her honor
- 2001 Japanese American Stephen H. Sumida of the University of Washington — first Asian American to become President-elect of the American Studies Association, a major organization that promotes the study of cultures, past and present

### Sciences

- 1888** Philip Jaisohn — first Korean to become an American citizen; 1892 first Korean American to receive an American medical degree
- 1901** Japanese American and chemist Jokichi Takamine — isolated epinephrine (adrenaline), the first of the gland hormones to be discovered in pure form, from the suprarenal gland; this discovery advanced medicine and surgery in fundamental ways
- 1944** Chinese American An Wang — invented the magnetic core memory, which revolutionized computing and served as the standard method for memory retrieval and storage until the invention of the microchip in the 1960s
- 1984** Chinese American Flossie Wong-Staal — first to clone an AIDS virus and work out its anatomy
- 1984** Taiwanese American Dr. David D. Ho — reported for the first time the "healthy carrier state" of HIV infection, which identified otherwise healthy individuals who tested positive for the virus but did not show any physical signs of the disease
- 1985** Japanese American and astronaut Ellison Onizuka — first Asian American in space
- 1992** Filipina American Dr. Lillian Gonzalez-Pardo — first Asian American woman to serve as president of the American Medical Woman's Association
- 1992** Astronaut Eugene Huu-Chau Trinh — first Vietnamese American to be on NASA's microgravity laboratory space shuttle mission, NASA's first long-duration flight
- 1993** South Asian American Arati Prabhakar — first Asian American director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology when appointed by President Clinton

### Journalism

- 1972** Huynh Cong Ut — first Vietnamese American to win the Pulitzer Prize for photography, the World Press Award, and gained recognition from the Overseas Press Club, the National Press Club, and Sigma Delta Chi, for his picture during the Vietnam War of a nine-year-old Vietnamese girl running down a dirt road—her naked body seared by napalm (incendiary chemical) accidentally dropped on her home in Tran Bang, Vietnam
- 1974** Japanese American Ken Kashiwahara and Connie Chung — first Asian Americans on the air in network news; 1993, Chung — first Asian American to be a nightly news anchor at a major network, CBS Evening News
- 1989 Filipino American Emil Guillermo — first Asian American to anchor a national radio program in the nation; 1989-1991 hosted National Public Radio's "All Things Considered"

## Nobel Prize Winners

- 1957** Chinese Americans Tsung-Dao Lee and Chen Ning Yang — received the Nobel Prize for their work in particle physics
- 1968** Indian American and biochemist Har Gobind Khorana — shared the Nobel Prize for physiology/medicine for deciphering the genetic code and its role in the control of protein synthesis
- 1976** Chinese American Samuel C.C. Ting — shared the Nobel Prize for physics for discovering the existence of a new particle called j/psi
- 1983** Indian/Pakistani American and astrophysicist Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar — shared the Nobel Prize for physics for his groundbreaking work that led to the discovery of black holes
- 1986** Taiwanese American Yuan T. Lee — shared the Nobel Prize for chemistry for his work in the nature of chemical reactions

## Military

- 1863** Chinese American William Ah Hang — one of the first Asian Americans to enlist in the U.S. Navy during Civil War
- 1942** U.S. War Department authorizes the first Filipino infantry battalion from among Filipino Americans
- 1942** Filipino Army Sgt. Jose Calugas — earns a Medal of Honor for heroism in the Philippines during World War II, among the first Filipinos to do so for services in World War II
- 1943** Korean American Colonel Young Oak Kim — first Asian American to command a combat battalion; to date, the most highly decorated Asian American soldier
- 1943** Wilbur Carl Sze — first Chinese American officer in U.S. Marine Corps
- World War II** 442nd Regimental Combat Team — made up of Japanese Americans who came out of the mainland concentration camps, was the most decorated unit of its size with seven Presidential Distinguished Unit Citations, 18,000 individual decorations, including a Congressional Medal of Honor, 47 distinguished Service Crosses, 350 Silver Stars, 810 Bronze Stars, and more than 3,600 Purple Hearts
- 1984** Major General John Liu Fugh — first Chinese American to attain general officer status in the U.S. army
- 1993** Major General John R. D'Araujo, Jr. — the first Filipino American to hold the rank of major general and the position of director of the Army National Guard Bureau

## Sports

- 1912, 1920, 1924** Hawaiian American Duke Kahanamoku — dominated swimming events in three Olympic games, winning three gold and two silver medals; singularly popularized surfing world-wide during the 1920's
- 1948** Filipina American diver Victoria Manalo Draves — first woman to win Olympic gold medals in both the ten-meter platform and three-meter springboard events
- 1948, 1952** Korean American diver Dr. Sammy Lee — first male athlete to win two Olympic gold medals in the platform diving event
- 1984** Samoan American Greg Efthimios Louganis — first diver to break the 700-point mark; first man in 56 years to win Olympic springboard and platform diving titles at the same Olympics
- 1987** Samoan and Hawaiian American Salevaa Atisano "Konishiki" — first non-Japanese Sumo wrestler to reach the rank of ozeki (champion)
- 1989** Chinese American Michael Chang — at age 17, is the youngest male tennis player in the world to win the Grand Slam tournament and the first American man in 34 years to win the French Open
- 1990** Japanese American Tomia "Tommy" T. Kono — a three-time Olympic medallist, two of them gold, in weightlifting, is inducted, (along with Sammy Lee), into the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame
- 1992** Korean American Eugene Y. Chung — first Asian American drafted in the first round and the third Asian American to play the National Football League

**NOTE: This is not a comprehensive list and is meant to give examples of APA pioneers in their field.**

## **SECTION 6—ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN CELEBRATION IDEAS=**

### **✓ Devote Time to Discuss APA History in Class**

The following ideas can be adapted to meet the Essential Academic Learning Requirements (EALRs) around reading, writing and critical thinking skills.

- ◆ Review sections 1-3 and adapt teaching strategies and classroom activities.
- ◆ Go over APA history timeline. Discuss why APAs migrated to the U.S.; discuss why there are/were concentrated migration in certain geographic areas; discuss reasons for migration and settlement.
- ◆ Discuss APA firsts and ask students to research certain individuals. Discuss how their work contributed to American history.
- ◆ Read *APIs in Washington State: An Overview*. Discuss major themes around migration, labor, economy, and political empowerment; discuss in what ways the reasons APAs came to the U.S. are similar and/or different from why other immigrants came to the U.S.; critically analyze prejudicial and discriminatory practices against APAs and compare with other groups who were/are similarly or differently treated; discuss challenges within APA community as a unified community; discuss what roles do migration patterns, economic status, cultural differences, and languages play in creating and dividing communities; are there similarities in other ethnic communities?
- ◆ Discuss the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Discuss how and why Japanese Americans were treated differently than German and Italian Americans, whose ancestral countries were also at war with the U.S.; discuss the role of 442<sup>nd</sup> regiment and other Asian American infantry regiments and their role during World War II.
- ◆ Ask students to create collages that display the diversity of APA communities. Discuss similarities and differences among APA communities; what holds them together and maintain their uniqueness from each other.
- ◆ Show and discuss APA history videos and films. Order or rent a video and study guide from the National Asian American Telecommunications Association; discuss major themes.

### **✓ Create a School Display**

Ask for contributions from APA students. Display could include:

- ◆ Map of Asian and Pacific Islander geographic areas with pushpins indicating country names
- ◆ Traditional clothes, cultural artifacts, and other heritage objects
- ◆ Poems and artwork by APA students and/or APA artists
- ◆ Pictures of their families
- ◆ Quotes by students to show their APA experience
- ◆ List of APA ethnicities
- ◆ List of APA languages
- ◆ Examples of APA authors and their books
- ◆ APA firsts
- ◆ APA history timeline

### **✓ Hold a School Assembly Celebrating APA heritage Month of May**

- ◆ Cultural performances by students and faculty
- ◆ Cultural performances by invited cultural performers (e.g., Filipino Youth Activities)
- ◆ APA history speakers and/or APA speakers who promote the valuing of diversity
- ◆ APA fashion show of APA traditional clothing
- ◆ APA traditional music

### **✓ Include Poems or Short Essays in School Newspaper, Website, or other Publications**

Ask students to submit poems, short essays, pictures

- ◆ Select examples to illustrate various APA experiences representing different ethnicities

### **✓ Hold a Bite of Asia During Lunch**

- ◆ Offer examples of APA cultural dishes and cultural performances during lunch or after school, scheduled over several days throughout May

## SECTION 7—RESOURCES

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### APA CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

*University of Washington Department of American Ethnic Studies*

Stephen Sumida, PhD, *chair*

Phone: 206-543-5401

Fax: 206-616-4071

Email: aes@u.washington.edu

<http://depts.washington.edu/aes/>

*University of Washington History Department, Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest*

Bruce Hevly, PhD, *director*

Phone: 206-543-8656

Fax: 206-543-9451

Email: cspn@u.washington.edu

<http://www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn>

*University of Washington Center for Multicultural Studies*

James A. Banks, PhD, *director*

Phone: 206-543-3386

Fax: 206-685-9094

Email: centerme@u.washington.edu

<http://depts.washington.edu/centerme/home.htm>

*Washington State University Department of Comparative American Cultures*

Rory Ong, PhD; John Streamas, PhD; instructors

Wilson Hall, Room 111

Pullman, WA 99164-4010

Phone: 509-335-2605

Fax: 509-335-2605

Email: sanjuan@wsu.edu

<http://www.libarts.wsu.edu/cac>

*Western Washington University American Cultural Studies Program*

Estrada, director

516 High Street, MS-9118

Western Washington University

Bellingham, WA 98225-9198

Phone: 360-650-7717

*School District Curriculum Director/Coordinator*

Ask your principal or district administrator for contact information.

### GENERAL RESOURCE INFORMATION

*Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs*

501 South Jackson Street, #306

Seattle, WA 98104

Phone: 206-464-5820

Fax: 206-464-5821

Email: capaa@halcyon.com

<http://www.capaa.wa.gov>

### CULTURAL, GENERAL

The following organizations offer a variety of services (e.g., workshops, speakers, advisors, mentors, translators, tutors, staff trainers, facilitators, and assemblies). Please call the organization directly for specific services offered.

#### Asian, Asian American Organizations

*Asian American & Pacific Islander Student Center*

Office of Multicultural Student Services

Washington State University

PO Box 642318

Pullman, WA 99163

Phone: 509-335-1986

*Asian Counseling & Referral Services*

720 8th Avenue South Suite 200

Seattle, WA 98104

Phone: 206-695-7600

acrs@acrs.org

<http://www.acrs.org>

*Asian Pacific American Director's Coalition*

901 Rainier Avenue S.

Seattle, WA 98144

(206) 322-9080

Enrollcca@aol.com

*Bainbridge Island Japanese-American Community*

1298 Grow Ave NW

Bainbridge Island, WA 98110

Phone: 206-842-4772

*Chinese Arts and Music Association*

PO Box 14377

Seattle, WA 98114

Phone: 206-762-8899

*Coalition of Lao Mutual Assistance Association*  
4717 Rainier Ave. S., #108  
Seattle, WA 98118  
Phone: 206-723-8440

*Filipiniana Arts and Cultural Center*  
569 N. 166th St.  
Seattle, WA 98133  
Phone: 206-542-7245

*Filipino American National Historical Society*  
810 – 18th Ave., room 201  
Seattle, WA 98122  
Phone: 206-322-0203  
Filipino Youth Activities (FYA)  
810 – 18th Ave.  
Seattle, WA 98122  
Phone: 206-461-4870

*Hmong Association of Washington (HAW)*  
3925 South Bozman Street  
Seattle, WA 98118  
Phone: 425-347-2480

*Hyogo Cultural Center*  
2001 – 6th Ave., Ste. 2610  
Seattle, WA 98121  
Phone: 206-728-0610

*Indochina Chinese Refugee Association*  
418 1/2 8th Ave. South  
Seattle, WA 98104  
Phone: 206-625-9955

*Japan-American Society of the State of Washington*  
220 Alaskan Way  
Seattle, WA 98121  
Phone: 206-374-0180  
<http://www.us-japan.org/jassw>

*Japanese American Citizens League*  
Pacific Northwest District  
671 Jackson St. # 206  
Seattle, WA 98104  
Phone: 206-623-5088  
<http://www.pnwjacl.org>

*Japanese-American Citizens League (JAACL)*  
Olympia Chapter  
PO Box 851  
Olympia, WA 98507-0851  
Phone: 800-676-4114

*Kabuki Academy*  
4806 – 86th Ave. Ct. W  
Tacoma, WA 98467  
Phone: 253-564-6081

*Midori Kono Thiel*  
4720 – 7th Ave. NE  
Seattle, WA 98105  
Phone: 206-633-2017

*Minority Executive Directors Coalition (MEDC)*  
105 14th Avenue  
Seattle, WA 98122  
Phone: 206-325-2542  
Email: [medcofkc@aol.com](mailto:medcofkc@aol.com)  
<http://www.medcofkc.org>

*Northwest Asian American Theater*  
409 – 7th Ave. S  
Seattle, WA 98104  
Phone: 206-340-1445

*Ragamala*  
4624 NE 89th St.  
Seattle, WA 98115  
Phone: 206-525-7728

*Seattle Asian Art Museum*  
1400 E. Prospect (physical address)  
or PO Box 22000 (mailing address)  
Seattle, WA 98122  
Phone: 206-654-3100  
<http://www.seattleartmuseum.org>

*Tears of Joy Theater*  
1109 East 5th Street  
Vancouver, WA 98661  
Phone: 360-695-3050

*Wing Luke Asian Museum*  
407 – 7th Ave. S  
Seattle, WA 98104  
Phone: 206-623-5124

*Young Once*  
513 S. Main St.  
Seattle, WA 98104  
Phone: 206-524-9139

*Pacific Islander Organizations*  
Hale Halawai 'O Hawaii  
605 S. Riverside Dr.  
Seattle, WA 98108  
Phone: 206-763-4335

*Na Pua Nani Dancers*  
(The Beautiful Flowers Dancers)  
2313 Hannah Rd.  
Ellensburg, WA 98926  
Phone: 509-962-2212

## VIDEO COLLECTIONS

### *National Asian American Telecommunications Association*

346 Ninth Street, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor

San Francisco, CA 94103

Phone: 415-552-9550

Fax: 415-863-7428

Email: [distribution@naatanet.org](mailto:distribution@naatanet.org)

<http://www.naatanet.org/distrib>

### *Wing Luke Asian Museum*

407 – 7th Ave. S

Seattle, WA 98104

Phone: 206-623-5124

## BOOKS

### *Asian American Curriculum Projects, Inc.*

2354 Main Street

PO Box 1587

San Mateo, CA 94401

Phone: 800-874-2242 or 650-343-9408

Fax: 888-252-4558 or 650-343-5711

Email: [aacp@best.com](mailto:aacp@best.com)

<http://www.best.com/~aacp>

### *Local Libraries*

Check your local libraries for books referenced in the annotated bibliographies in sections 1, 2, and 3

## LANGUAGE INTERPRETATION

### *A&A Language Services*

10923 SE 23rd Street

Bellevue, WA 98004

Phone: 425-453-9890

Fax: 425-453-9831

Email: [aaserv@qwest.net](mailto:aaserv@qwest.net)

### *A.C.E. InfoTech Group*

1450 114<sup>th</sup> Ave. SE, #I-230

Bellevue, WA 98004

Phone: 425-453-4444

Fax: 425-453-0187 (Interpretation)

425-453-0188 (Translation)

Email: [atc@aceinfotech.com](mailto:atc@aceinfotech.com)

<http://aceinfotech.com>

### *American Red Cross Language Bank*

Seattle-King County Chapter

1900 25th Avenue South

Seattle, WA 98144-4708

Phone: 206-726-3554

Fax: 206-720-5391

Email: [languagebank@seattleredcross.org](mailto:languagebank@seattleredcross.org)

<http://www.seattleredcross.org>

